

မုဒိမ်းကျင့်ခွင့် လိုင်စင်



မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၊ ရှမ်းပြည်နယ်တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားနေသော စစ်ပွဲဒဏ်း
မြန်မာစစ်အစိုးရ အဆုံးပြုလျက်ရှိသည့်
လိင်အကြမ်းဖက်မှု

မုဒိမ်းကျင့်ခွင့်လိုင်စင်

မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ၊ ရှမ်းပြည်နယ်တွင် ဖြစ်ပွားနေသော စစ်ပွဲအတွင်း
မြန်မာစစ်အစိုးရအသုံးပြုလျက်ရှိသည့်
လိင်အကြမ်းဖက်မှုနှင့် ပတ်သက်သည့်
အစီရင်ခံစာ

ရှမ်းလူ့ အခွင့်အရေးမဏ္ဍိုင်

နှင့်

ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးရေးရာ ဆက်သွယ်ဖလှယ်လှုပ်ရှားဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအသင်း

၂၀၀၂ ခုနှစ် မေလ။

မုဒိမ်းကျင့်ခွင့်လိုင်စင် အစီရင်ခံစာကို မူရင်းအင်္ဂလိပ်ဘာသာမှ မြန်မာဘာသာ ပြန်ဆိုပေးသော နိုင်ငံရေးအကျဉ်းသားများ
ကူညီစောင့်ရှောက်ရေးအသင်း မြန်မာနိုင်ငံ (AAPP) အား ကျွန်ုပ်တို့ရှမ်းအမျိုးသမီးရေးရာ ဆက်သွယ်ဖလှယ်လှုပ်ရှား
ဆောင်ရွက်ရေးအသင်း (SWAN) မှ ကျေးဇူးဥပကာရတင်ရှုပါကြောင်း မှတ်တမ်းတင်အပ်ပါသည်။

&r;v|tci ta&r¾li (The Shan Human Rights Foundation – SHRF)

&r;v|tci ta&r¾li SHRF on tp&r[wontzwpzjzpy; A'bmom0irm;/ jyny
a&mu&r;tr&om;awmvea&t it m;pr&m;Ei &r;jyne, twi;Eijiy&y*vr&m;. t ut n
ji &r;jynyieua' o vwajrmue, ajrwi 1990 cEp 'Zibmvu zpn;cyon?

&r;v|tci ta&r¾li SHRF .&n±, c&ur&m;rm at m uy;twi;jzpyon?

1? v|tci ta&c|;azmuc&or&m; twu w&m;rwrjyev n&&a&Ei v|tci ta&w|twu
|u;yr&om;&e?

2? jynorm;. qEoabmx&m;Eiuunon 'rua&pwp&yuazmaqmi&Ei 'rua&p t ajcc
rr&m;u t ajcon jynorm;vucEir n tp&wp&yu wnaxmizpn;&e?

3? n!wa&:/ o [Zmwjzpa&:/ we;wnr'a&Ei y;ayi;aqmi±ua&w|twu |u;yr;
aqmi±u&e?

4? urm+ir;cr;a&:/ vwvya&:/ om, m0ajyma&w|twu |u;yr;aqmi±u&e?

quo, &evypm?

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&r;tr∨a&&m quo, zv, y;ayi;aqmi±ua&t oi;

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&r;tr∨a&&m quo, zv, y;ayi;aqmi±ua&t oi;u xi;EiiEi/ xi;jrerm, py
a&mu wu⁰uaom&r;tr&or&m;u 1999 cEp rwv 28 &uae;wi at m uy&n±, cu
r&m;jizi zpn;cyon?

- tr&or&m;. tci ta&Ei uav&r&m;. tci ta&r&m;twu vy&m;aqmi±u&e?
- tr&or&m;Ei uav&oi, r&m;tm; aci;yjzwtjrwxwji;/ t:ur;zujci;w|u
qeusiom;&e?
- rrw|. v|tz t pn;twi; +ir;cr;a&Ei vwvya&twu twwuaqmi±uom;
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- tr&or&m;twu yraumi;reon aexirb0uaqmi:u0;ay;&e?
- obm0o, Zmw t &i; t jrpEi obm0yw0e;usi xe;or;a&twu yrE;um;r&vm
ap&e?

quo, &evypm

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rnwun

tEpcly

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e'ie;

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aenucori;

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&r;jyn . ori;EiEia&aemuc -

11

&r;v|tztpn;twi;u&m;-rqi&mtce;u¾Ei r'r;usijci;

tay: tp0t vmoabmxm;wejjerrsm; -

12

jynwi;pp tEpav;q , umv twi; viyi;t:ur;zurrsm; -

13

&r;jyn twi; wjri vmonppyoijci; -

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ppv ueuwpctjzpcilyxm;on r'r;usijci;

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tp tp0usEi us , us , jyejye| u&l;vecon r'r;usirrsm; -

15

r'r;r;u&l;veon ppwy t &m&rsm; -

16

r'r;r;usic&y; tr&l;or;rsm;t m; aemuw;Eypun0;yejci;/ owjzwjci; -

17

typvur'r;usijci;

18

ppwypce;rsm;t wi;r'r;usijci;

18

r'r;r;usi&e&n± , cujzi quv ucly aEmirrsm;

19

tjypu&l;veor&m;u w&m;pqrr&jci;Ei wiwe;or&m;u tjypayjci;

19

r'r;r;usic&jci;tay:ccEiryui;rvnapon ppyoi;rsm;

22

t wi;t "rajymi;a&ae&mc:xm;jci;

22

±m&m;rsm;t wi;t "rajymi;a&ae&mcaep0 twi; r'e;usijci;

23

jyev nae&mc:xm;ona'o tji buwiaw&o tr&l;or;rsm;t m; r'r;r;usijci;

23

jyev nae&mc:xm;ona'or&m;t wi;t tr&l;or;rsm;t m;r'r;r;usijci;

25

t wi;t "r t vyci;apci;

26

t wi;t "r ay:vmci;apci;

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t wi;t "rci;apryprsm;

28

ppwy ppaq;a&*wrrsm;

28

vnvn&m;vmaeon ui;vnwyz'rsm;/ wmoecru i;raejci;

29

r'r;r;usic&y;vwajrmu vn&m;

29

±yyi;qi&m ue;rma&xcurrsm;

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pwyi;qi&m ue;rma&xcurrsm;

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31

Epxyur;tjyp'%/r'r;r;usic&y;aemu tjypwic&jci;Eijii;y , c&jci;

31

r'r;r;usic&y;aemu ae&majymi;a&jci;

33

xi;Eiitwi;tumtu , / tutnui;rjci;

33

Eixwc&r tE&m ,

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viyi;qi&m t:ur;zur/Eiiwun&mZ0wr **35**

viyi;qi&m t:ur;zur t m;jiEypun0;ye;ji; 36

viyi;qi&m t:ur;zur t m;ji vr\$;w;ppy t oiaqmiapji; 37

viyi;qi&m t:ur;zur t m;ji v|obm0w&m; t ay. &mZ0wru\$;vejci; 38

viyi;qi&m t:ur;zur t m;ji pp&mZ0wru\$;vejci; 41

r'r;r t wu wm0e&on t relay;ne:um;ji; 42

e*;c\$y Ei t}ulyc:ur;m; **42**

aenu q u w r;m; - **46**

1? awi;qar;je;ji; t ao;pwr;m; (28 c) 46

2? viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuru\$;vecu on ppt p;&wyom;r;m; . wy&i;r;m;pm&i; 67

3? viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuru\$;vecor;m; . t rnr;m; 69

4? viyi;qi&m t:ur;zurr;m;jzpy;m;caom ae&ma' o;y ajryr;m; --

5? viyi;qi&m t:ur;zur 173 rw|. t u0;c\$yzpp0r;m; --

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Ttp&icpmwi tr∨rm;Ei re;uav;i ,rm; ppayi; 625 a ,mutyt0i &r;tr∨rm;tay: jrermppwyrsm;r &r;jyn twi;Y t"u tmjzi 1996 cEpr 2001 cEpt:um;u;l;ve conr'r;rrsm;Ei tr&rd;rd;aomviyi;t:ur;zuray;i; 173 rwEiywoul tao;pw rwwr;wixm;yion? Tae&mwi tr∨trsm;pon r'r;usic&jci;. aemuquw jzpay:vmrn trn;pua:umi ,i;w;.viyi;t:ur;zuc&rrsm;u owi;ay;wi-um;ci;rly-u onuvn;rwom;oiyion? xlt yi &r;jynwi;vltci ta&cl;azmur owi;rm;u xi;=rerm ,pyo!Oia&mucv vm-uaom 'uonrm; . aymycursm;a-umiom &r;v tci ta&rAliu paqmi;o&Ei ci;zpaoma-umi Ttp&icpmwi rwwr;wixm;aom ue;%e; tcutvursm;rm trewu ,zpyucon ta&twuxu vepmen;ae;yvrrn?

Ttp&icpmwi jrermpp tp;&t aezi &r;jyn& vr&pw i;&i;om;jynorm;tm; t:ur;zuvuatmucb0owoi;&etvliq ,i; .ppwyrsm;tm; tptp0cl us ,us ,jyeijyejzi r'r;rrsm;u u;l;veciay;v'u&onu azmxwwijxm;yion? pp&mZ0wrrsm;/ vvc i;pmemaxmum;rr&on&mZ0wrrsm;on viyi;q i&mt:ur;zur yo³/₄mejzi &r;jyn twi;jzpy;ca:umi;/ quvulvn;jzpy;aea:umi;u Ttp&icpmu ui;ui; uuuu azjyxm;yion?

&r;jynovxtm;qeusi&e jrermppwyrrr .ppom;rm;tm; "r'r;usic i;u ppv ueu oz , " w&m;0i t o;jyciay;xm;onci vaomouao taxmutxm;rm;u Ttp&icpm wi wijxm;yion? &r;tr∨rm;tm;r'r;usic i;on jrermpp tp;& . oye qeusia& ppqivy&m;rrsm; . tpwt yi;wctjzp ceuupp0xm;aomen;Ad [mwczponrm ay:vi aea:umi;jyoaeyion? Ttp&icpmwi jrermpp tp;&.wy&i;(52)&i;r ppom;rm;u u;l;vecaom trrm;u tao;pw tcutvursm;jzi rwwr;wiazjxm;&m r'r;rtm;v; . 83&mciE;rm t&m&rm;ru;l;vejci;jzpy;/ r'r;rt rm;pu ,i;w;.ppom;rm; . a&armuwi u;l;vecjci;jzpon? r'r;rrsm;tji t jcm;&upuve;aomvy&yrm;u u;l;vec&m Oyrmtmjzi &uEujci;/ u ,t*rm;uwppjzwawmujci;Ei tou&Luyatmivyjci; pon vy&yrm;y0iyion? r'r;usic&o 25 &mciE;rm aoq;ontxjzpc&y; tcl trrm;wi re;uav;. u ,cEm tavmi;u a'oc&y&mvxjriEiatmiwri&n± ,um jyxm;onu aw&&on? r'r;rrsm;. 61 &mciE;rm typvu0i;0e;l r'r;usic&jci;jzpon? xol r'r;usi&mY tr∨rm;tm; ppwypce;rm;twi;wir'r;usic&jci;jzpy; tcl tr∨rm;qy u av;vt xcly aEmicc&y; tceumv:umjripm t}urjurr'r;usic&jci;jzpon? rwwr;&&xm;on tjzpty:uppayi; 173 cxwit rwpcYomv i r'r;ru;l;veo tm; ,i; . txut&m&u ta& , tjypay;con? trsm;tm;jzi wiwe;ow&m;vrsm;on ppwyr '%aiwyjci;/ zr;q;clyaEmixm;jci;/ Eypun0;yejci;uc&ontji tclqv i t owyic cu&yion?

Ei iawmat;cr;om ,ma&Eiz;za&aumip trnc vu&jrermpp tp;&r &r;jyn twi; ppyoi;jci;rm;/ aomi;ue;oqelusia&prc;urum;u w;civyaqmiaera:umi &r; tr∨rm;rm r'r;usic&rrsm;u ccumu ,eipr; ylyl ui;rvmaeyion? &r;jyn twi; ppwywy&i; ta&twuon 1988 cEpu xu o;qey;r w;vmaeon? r'r;usic&r tjzpty:utrm;pon &r;jyn tv ,yi;a'owijzpy; 1996 cEprpl rvaexi&m t&yrm;r

t wi; t "rajmi; a&ae&mc&cc&oay; i; o; oe; au&mw / &&ma'ov n; jzpyon? r'r; r t r m; p
on t r s; or; r m; / re; uav; i; r m; , i; w t m; ajmi; a&v uona&e&m r m; . t j y i b u t e;
w0uY t p m; t p m x u&mc&r s; w i z r; q; c&y; j z p y m; c j c i; j z p y o n? x j y i v n; a y; w m j z p a p/
p p w y t w u t v y w p c c u t c a; u; a i r a y; b j z p a p v y u i &e t "r c i; a p o n t c r s; Y v n;
a u m i; / p p w y p p a q; a& *w r m; w i & y w e t p p a q; c& o n t c r s; Y v n; a u m i; r'r; u s i c&j c i;
r m; j z p y m; c y o n?

T t p&i c p m w i r w&m; j y u s i c v u& o r m; t a e j z i u s; v e c& o n t r E i y w o u l w&m; o j z i
j z p o i j z p x u o n t a& , a q m i ± u a y; j c i; r&& w i r u , i; w u a w i c p m; & o n t : u y t w n;
t c u t c r m; u v n; u n r w p w&m r&j c i; w a; u m i , i; w u a w i c p m; & o n ± y y i; / p w y i;
q i&m t a j c t a e r m; u v n; a v v m a z m x w x m; y o n? r'r; u s i c v u& o t c i o n , i; w .
r o m; p t O e; t O i; E i & y ± m t O e; t O i; r j y p w i a j y m q r r m; / y p y , & c j c i; r m; u u a w i& y o n?
t a w m r m; r m; r m r'r; u s i c& y; a e m u y i; Y x i; E i i z u o i x u a j y; & e q j z w v u : u a w m o n?
o i&m w i x i; E i i Y v n; & r; 'u o n r m; u t o t r w y x m; j c i; r&a o m a; u m i , i; w t w u
u m u , a p m i a& m u r / v o m; c i; p m e m a x m u x m; o n t u t n& E i r n t c i t v r; E i t } u a y;
E i o n t z i t p n; p o n w i v; O r&b j z p a e& y o n? o i j z p l , i; w i r m t j r w x w t o; c j c i; /
v u e u; j c i; c& r n t j z p r s; a& m u& a e& r i r u , i; w t m; r w&m; u s i } u v u o r m; . v u x o i j y e
v n y a q m i c& r n t E&m , u y t r w a p a; u m u ± a e& a y o n?

**o i j z p a o m a u m i & r; v i t c i t a& r 3 i E i & r; t r i; o r; a& & n q u o , y; a y i; a q m i ± u a&
t o i; t a e j z i a t n u y i t w i; t } u i y t y a y o n?**

E i i a w n a t; c i; r; o n , m a& E i z i i z; w ; w u a& a u n i p o i -

1? v r s; p y n e , r m; t w i; p p y p o w o i; r r m; w y m; v m a e j c i; E i a o m i; u e; o q e i u s i a&
p r c u r m; v y a q m i a e j c i; w i u& y w e i& e t w u w p E i i v; t w i; t w m t m; j z i t y p t c w& y p
a& u c u j c i; t a u m i t x n a z m a q m i ± u& e?

2? w i; j y n . t e m * w E i i a& t w u A r m r [w a o m v r s; p w i; & i; o m; r m; / t w u t c' r u a& p
t i t m; p r m; r u , p m; v , r m; y i O i o n o; y i q i a w i q a q; a E; a& u p w i& e?

3? 1949 c E p : o * w v 12 & u * e A m n v m c r w n w n w w n; q j z w c o n q j z w c u t y' 3
t y t O i t j y n j y n q i& m v o m; c i; p m e m a x m u x m; r O y a' y i v u e m a q m i ± u& r n t c i u r m;
u a v; p m; & e t & y o m; r m; t m; v u e u t o; c E y u a e j c i; u& y w e i& e u a v; o i , r m; / t r s;
o r; r m; E i v r s; p t& u; u , : u n r t& v e n; p j z p a o m w i; & i; o m; r m; t y t O i E i i o m;
t m; v; u v o m; c i; p m e m a x m u x m; o n O y a' c i; a z m u c& r r m; r u m u , a p m i a& m u& e?

4? t "r o i r [w r v y r a e& t v y c i; a p r q i& m 1930 c E p t i t , t q j z w c u y i v u e m
a q m i ± u& e t c i u r m; u a v; p m; & e?

5? t r s; o r; t c i t a& r m; t m; c i; a z m u a e r r m; / t x; o j z i j y e v n O i a& m u v m o n' u o n
r m; / j y n w i; Y a& a j y m i; c& o r m; / o i r [w v r s; p t z i t w u t c E i i a& t z i r m; E i y w o u o n
t r s; o r; r m; t m; j y p r w x m; u m p p w y r u s; v e a e o n t "r t v y c i; a p j c i; / t "r a e& m a j y m i;

a&apjci;/ Eypun0;yejci;/ viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuji;/ t o;ctjrwxwji;/ zr;q;xm;p0
n0;yejci;/ t u0;&p&ijci; t p&onw&u&ywe&e?

6? v t rsm; t m; pepwujzi t "rajymi;a&aeonjzp&yrs;u&ywe&e/ t re;ci;eiirsm;oi
'uontjzp xuajy;&ci;rsm;yaymu&Ei ,i;w;qEtavsmu vicpwc;pmjyevn0ia&mu
um rom;pEijyevnayi;pn;Ei&etwu v tyontajct aer sm;u t vtavmuzew;ay;
&e/ ,i;w;jyevn0ia&mu aexiEia&u taxmutu yEi&etwu vom;ci;pmamaxmu
xm;a&aqmi±uor sm; t m; vicl tq;twm;r&onvyyicir sm;uciy&e/ t x;ojzi e ,py
a'or sm;Y t r∨ rsm;Eiuav;oi , rsm; t m; varmicu;aeonjy \ emr sm;u ajz&i;&e?

7? uav;t ci ta&;qi&m oabmwpmc&yEi t r∨ rsm; t m;en;r&pjzicm;quqr t m;v;
zuor;a&oabmwpmc&yw&wi y0ion t cur sm;twi;vuemaqmi±u&EiiawmOya'
jyīme;um t qy oabmwpmc&yrs;Ei t n vuaw&azmaqmiuio;&e/ t r∨ rsm; t m; en;
r&pjzicm;quqr t m;v;zuor;a&oabmwpmc&y. o;o&e&aem u quwpmc&ywi y0i
vurwx;a&Ei twniyvurwx;a&/ tvm;wyi uav;t ci ta&;qi&m oabmwpmc&y
. o;o&e&aem u quwpmc&ywi y0i vurwx;a&/ twniya&w&twu jyevnp0;pm;
o;oy&e?

8? t r∨ rsm; t m;en;r&pjzicm;quqr t m;v;yaymu a&;qi&maumrw. t }u ycur sm;
u t jynt0taumit xnazm&e/ t x;ojzi t r∨t ci ta&;ci;azmuor sm; t m; w&m;
p&ippaq;um t jypay;&earwm&ycc;uu taumit xnazm&e?

x i;E i iawn t p ;&o ī -

1? xi;EiiEi&rjyne ,pya'o&&r;vx t m; xi;Eiiwi;oe ,pyjzwaumciay;um 'u
onpce;rsm;Ei uvor*'uonr sm;qi&mr [mri;}u;&oi quo ,ciyji; t m;ji t um
t u ,ay&e?

2? Eia&cvci& ,von&rwi;&i;om; rsm; t m; xi;Eii t ajcpu vom;ci;pmamaxmum;
rtutnay;aeontz t p n;rsm;Ei quo ,Eiciay;&e?

3? ajymi;a&0ia&mu vmo&r;t vyorm; t rsm;pon t rewu , 'uonr sm;jzpaoma:umi
,i;w&t m;jrermEiiwi;o j yeyionupEiywoul o;o&e& *±yaqmi±u&e?

4? &r; t r∨ rsm; t m;jrermppwyv uwi;oi j yevnyaqmi jci;r&y&e?

5? ajymi;a&aexio jrermEiiom;rsm;Eiywoul aq;aEjci;/ nEi;jci;t yi Eii&i;o j yey
a&t p t pOr sm; t m;v;wi xi;EiiEijrermEii t p;&rsm;t aeji eiiwumvrt0e;t0i;Ei
uvor*'uonr sm;qi&mr [mri;}u;&wr y0iaq;aE;Eia&u ciy&e? ajymi;a&aexio
t vyorm;rsm;. xucmvm&jci;t a:umi;&i;rsm;u t qyaq;aE;yrs;wi uiw ,ajz&i;&e?

E i i wunt 0e;t 0 i;o ī -

1? jrermr [waom vr;pw;wi;&i;om;rsm;aexi&ma'or;sm;wi txiu&jzpyuaeon v|
tci ta&;c;azmuaerrsm;uz;u ,&e&n±, cuji [ejyvyaen Eia&jzpay;wwur
qonrsm;t m; vucji;ry&e?

2? uvor*v|tci ta&aumr&i. 'jrermEiiv|tci t&tajctae' Eiywou on
q;jzwc;u trw 2002\$67 u taji;yxm;on t xuazmjy; t}u;yc;ur;sm;t m; azmaqmi&
twu pptp;&u ztm;ay;&e? jrermEiwi 'rua&piyevnxaxmia&;twu pptp;& r
t;y;tjwajymi;vrrsm; riyvrci; t u t n ay;r t m;v;u qi;ixm;&e?

3? jrermEiivr;piyne ,a'or;sm;Y vyuae:uon uvor*vuatmuctz;tpn;rsm;Ei
eiiwum tp;&r[wontz;tpn;rsm;tajzi tqya'or;sm;wi t&yom;jynor;sm;tay:
pptp;&ru;veaeon &upu ,wrmrrsm;Eiywoul rno;ri;rajmqbaeyu ,i;w|
u ,wi tqyEypun0;ye;rsm;wi t vwt vyjzpm;Eion t m;av;sm;pm (t qy&upu
,wrmrrsm;Eiywoul) vo&i:um;ouaoxuqa&;twuz t m;ay;&e?

e'le;

T t p&icpmu &r;v|t ci ta&r³/₄i (SHRF) t r∨a&XmeEi &r;t r∨a&&m quo ,y;ayi;aqmi±ua&t oi; (SWAN) wry;ayi;oawoe|wiijcici;jzpyion? &r;v|t ci ta&r³/₄ion jrermpp t p&r &r;jynt wi;u|;vecaom r'r;rty|t0iv|t ci ta&c|;azmurrm;Eiywoul tao;pwrwwr;wixm;onvp0owi;vmrsm;u 1997 cEp uwn;u a&om;xwa0cyion? 1999 cEpwi &r;v|t ci ta&r³/₄ion jrermppwyr t qy|Ept wi;u|;vecaom r'r;rrm;Eiywoulazmjyxm;on pmt yi,wpt yu jrerm b m omjzia&om;xwa0con? &r;t r∨a&&m quo ,y;ayi;aqmi±ua&t oi;r t z0i rsm;onvn; &r;jynt wi; t r∨rsm;tay: ppt p&rt:ur;zuaer t rsm;t jym;&aejci;Ei ywoul y;conEprsm;twi;u Eiiwum nvmcrsm;wiwiyajmqcuyion? o|&mwi vr&pa'orm;Y jrermpp t p&u|;vev u&aom viyi;q i&m t p t p0c:n0;ye;Eypurrsm;t ajrm u t jrm;&aeon qci;u Eiiwum v|t0e;t0i;t aeji ,cxuyro&t m&p;puvm ap&e twu yryjnpus ,jye|on t p&icpmwpapmi u hyp&ev tyaea:umi; xi&m; vmcyion?

Eiiwum t oi;t0i;t aeji Eia&t oi u;ajymi;ro| 0;wnvmoa ,mixi&aomjzpay: w;wuru:unum ppt p&tay:zt m;ay;rrsm; avsmen;vmon r:umao;ru t &yvu%om rsm;a:umi jrermEiiwi quv u jzpy m;aeon jynwi;ppu wi;&i;om;vr&prsm;/ t x;oji t r∨rsm;tay:Y rnr t u|;oua&m u xcur&aeon uazm xw&eupon ,cix uyl ta&w;u;v tyvmaeyion? e ,pya'orm;o| t jyi tyr t z t p n;rsm;om;a&muci u quv u ue|owaejci;Ei owi;vwvyciv;Or&ci;w|u jrermEii&vr&prsm;tay:wi t p t p0c:quv uzEyaen yrm%t jyn t pu ppt p&t aeji z;u ,xm;Eiaen? T o| quv u jzpay:aeon yrm%Ee;xm;uz;u ,xm;ici;t m;ji ppt p&u jynwi;pp t q;ow &e ta&w;u;v ty:u u vn;aumi;/ wijyn . tem*wtwu aw|qaa;E&mwi vr&p t z t p n;rsm;t m;y0icily&eu vn;aumi; Eiiwum t0e;t0i;t:um;wi &n± ,cu&ji ar;rezzxm;ici;yijzpyion?

t p&icpmwi jrermppwyr u|;vecon viyi;q i&m t:ur;zurrsm;/ T uo|aom t rrm; u|;vecow|u ta&; ,t jpay;Eirn Oya'vyie;pOrsm;jyev nazmaqmi&ev ty:u pon w|u azm xwwijyxm;&wirub r'r;u:icvu&orm;t aeji ,cv t rsm;c ,xm;on usm; r qcm;roabmxm;t jrirm;t &yw0e;usi t oi;t0i;r a0zejypwic&rrsm;ty;t0i ,i;w|&iqiuaw|&on jy \ emrsm;u vn; avvmazm xw&eu;yr;xm;yion?

T t p&icpm twu owi;t cu t v ursm;u &r;v|t ci ta&r³/₄i (SHRF) Ei &r;t r∨a&&m quo ,y;ayi;aqmi±ua&t oi; (SWAN) w|u 2001 cEp ZE0&v r 2002 cEp rwv twi; paqmi;cici;jzpyion? x t c eum v twi;Y t r∨ 28 0;w|t m; xi;jrerm e ,pywi SHRF o|r [w SWAN t z r t z0i rsm;/ vm; [t r∨rsm;t z r t z0i rsm;u T t p&icpm iyp&e twu aw|qar;jre:cuyion? xaw|qar;jre;rrsm;u T t p&icpm .aem u quwwpct jz p r&i;t wi; jyev nazmjyxm;yion? t jcm;aomjz p&y 145 crm vp0xw SHRF owi;vmrsm;r paqmi;xm;ici;jzpyion? ,i;t jz p tyur sm;ur tao;pwazmjy r xm;y| um ,u i rsm;tay: viyi;q i&m t:ur;zur . t u|;oua&m u xcuaprrsm;u vn;

t"uxm;azmjyxm;ji;r&y? tr 173 cv;Eiywouontcutvurm;uvm; tu0;cy
a&om;um tp&icpmwiaemuquwazmjyxm;yon?

trtrm;pon 1996 cEpEi 2002 cEpt:um;jzpy;caom trrm;uavvmrwwr;wixm;
ji;jzpaomvn; xumvrwiruyijzpyucontjzptyui;cvn;y0iae&m/ ,i;w!ur
um , u&irm;Eiwu±uaw!qar;jre;um!ypxm;ji;jzpaoma:umi xnoi;azmjyxm;ji;jz
yon?

&r;jyntwi; vwwavmjzpy;uaeaom r'r;usi}uc&rrm;ywouon owi;tcutvu
rm;uavvmvy!u www.shanland.orgwi&SHRF . vp0xwowi;vmu:un&y&e?

Ttp&icpma&om;yp&eEi wn;jzw&etwu tceay;umuncuorm;t m;v;u SHRF
Ei SWAN tzr au;Z;wi&a:umi;ajm:um;vyon? Ttp&icpmxwa0a&twu un
axmuycon aema0;v!tci ta&azmia';&i;uvm; tx;au;Z;wi&yon?

aemucori;

&r;jyn . ori;Ei Eia&aemuc

&r;jyn [onrm , ctq jynaxmipjrrmEii [t rsm; o:u aomEii . ta&ajrmuyi;a'o&pw&e;u vrwmayi; 64000 us , 0e;on awmiwe;a'ojzpyon? &r;jynon aumuru &wem/ owl ule;op tp&on obm0o , Zmwrm;u , 0aoma'ojzp.? vO;a&t m;ji ce;re;ajc &poe;aum&y; xu0uce;on ajr:oZmaumi;reaom awmiwe;rsm;wiaexion &r;vr&rsm;jzpon? &r;vr&rsm;on r&E , t m;ji xi;vr&rsm;EiquE , r&y; ajmqon bompum;vn;wnayon? &r;jynwiaexiaom t jcm;vr&rsm;rm awmiay;a'orm; wiaexi:u on t c/ uci/ vm; [/ vp/ yavmi/yt;O/ Ei 0 vr&rsm;jzpyon?

&r;jynu tyipm;e , y , 30 aumceyi;jcm;y; e , y , wpcpwi r&E , pt }u;tuwp0;pr tp0tqtutycuyon? jrrmEiiuAwow uvevycp0uyivi &r;vr&rsm;on u , yit ycy&pepji quvuaexici&cayon? q , Epumvixuci&on [aom ovrwcujzi &r;vr&rsm;on vwvya&&etwu jynrjrrmeiiEiy;i;&e oabmw con? xoabmwowrwcuu zpn;tycyt ajcc0ya'wix noi;jyme;caomvn; vuawwir cxuci v;Or&&cay?

we;wnr on t ci ta&rsm;yr&&etwu jrrmtp;&Eiaq;aE;nEi;&e &r;vr&rsm;Ei t jcm;aomvr&rsm;pacj;aqmirm; . i;u;yr;rtm;v;on 1962 cEpY Avcl;yaE0i;0;aqmiaom ppwyr t m%omoryuvucewi ±ww&u&ywe;om;c&y;on? xtcerpl pptp;&t qu quon t m%omuyevnay;ty&eji;qey; wijynuquvutyp;con? 1990 jynEp aff;aumuywi a':atmide;pun0;aqmion tr&om;'rua&ptzciyy;vi &r;tr&om;'rua&ptzciy SNLD on wpEiiv;wi vwawmu , pm;v , ae&m 'w , trsm;q; &&caomvn; xaff;aumuy&v'utotrwyvuem&e ppwyrji;qecayon? xtcerpl t jcm;aomtwutcywtz0irm;en;wyi SNLD tz0irm;onvn; en;r&pji aEmu , ujci;ucc&on?

y;con tEp 40 aumumvwavmuv;wi vr&rsm;pawmvea&tzt pn;t rsm;t jym;on &r;jynwi t ajcpu vy&m;cuon? jrrmppwyuvn; , i;w . pptit m;u Ta'owi wjzn;jzn;ci;w;c&vmjci;jzi wejyecon? awmvea&t z rsm; . t "uyo³/₄mejzpon aymu:um;ppobm0u ta:umi;yl pptp;&.en;y& , m , yi;wivn; vr&rsm;poyew;u ±om;rsm;rvuoicxm;ji;/ unaxmuyaejci;rsm;t m;wm;q;Ei&e t &yom;rsm;ut "uyp rwtjzpowrwum aomi;ue;oqelusia&prcusrm;t}u;t us , hyvyon en;y& , m , u yruio;vmcyon? tqyprcusrm;wi t &yom;rsm;ute;uyapmi:unEi&etwu au;&mrsm;t m; ppwypce;rsm;tewi&on r [mAd [musona'orm;oi twi;t "rajymi; a±ae&m;c;xm;ji;rsm;y0iyon?

t}u;rsm;q;Ei t jyi;xeq;t "rajymi;±rtp tp0wpcu 1996 - 97 cEptwi;u &r;jyn t v , yi;Y hyvycon? au;±mayi; 1400 aumrvayi; 300,000 aumu , i;waexi&m a'orm;r t jcm;a'o oajymi;±cy;aemu v tyao m rnonypn;wpw&muraxmuyb

xm;con? t qyau;±m om; t rsm; t jym;u , cx u wia t m i , i;w l . r vae&m o j y e c i
ray; b x m; & m x u 0 u a u s m a u s m c e j o n x i; E i i o l ' u o n r s m; t j z p x u a j y; o m; c u & o n?

&r;jyn . um; r q i& t c e; u ¾ E i r' r; u i j c i; t a y: t p 0 t v n o a b n x n; w e j y e y r m

“ee; , i; c j v z l w q w; c j v a u m 0 ”

(re;ron via , m u s m; u c p c i a v; p m; o n? w&p m e o n o c i u c p c i a v; p m; o n) - a&;
a [m i; & r; p u m; y

t p 0 t v m t& &r;jyn a u s; v u v l t z l t p n; o n a , m u s m; j z p o u) u; p; o n v l t z l t p n;
w p& y z p o n? t r s m; E i o u q i o n e, y, w i ± m o) u; / a u s; ± m a u m r w 0 i / a * y u t z 0 i
p o j z i t a&; y o n a e& m r s m; u a , m u s m; r s m; u o m& , a v& o n? r o m; p r s m; t w i; w i v n;
a , m u s m; r s m; u o m t r a x m i 0; p; r s m; t j z p o w r w: u o n?

&y a&; ± m a&; E i o u q i o n t q i r s m; w i q; j z w c: u c r w& m Y t r s; o r; r s m; . t c e; u ¾ v; 0 r&
a c? t r s; o r; r s m; . t v y r m v u x y j c i; / v i a , m u s m; t m; t y p j c i; E i u a v; a r; j c i; r o m j z p a e
y o n? t r w i; Y t r s; o r; r s m; o n x r i; c u / o e l& i; a&; v y / u a v; x e; p o n t v y t m; v; u
v y a q m i& y; t r t j i b u E i y w o u v i a& x r; & j c i; / p m; y i a o m u y i p u y l; j c i; E i q w c;
j c i; w l u v n; v y a q m i: u & o n?

a , b , s t m; j z i t r s; o r; r s m; t m; a p; w i [i; o; [i; ± u E i t j c m; u e y p n; r s m; a& m i; c a e: u
o n u j r i a w& o j z i , i; w l o n r o m; p 0 i a i u u i w , x e; o r; & o n [x i p& m& a o m v n;
r s m; a o m t m; j z i p y; a& m i; c j c i; / : u u 0 u b E m; p o n a r; j r l a&; o w 0; r s m; a& m i; c j c i; u o l a o m
t " u a i a& a: u; a&; t a& m i; t 0 , u p& y r s m; v y a q m i o r m a , m u s m; r s m; o m j z p a y o n? t r .
a i a& a: u; a&; u p r s m; E i y w o u l t " u q; j z w c: u r s m; c i r w o n r m v n; a , m u s m; r s m; o m
j z p a y o n? (a r; y z x (u) e) & r; p u m; y w p c w i y& o n t w i; “re; r) u; p; & i a , m u s m; j z p o
t a u; w i r n?)

&r; v r s; t r s m; p o n A' b m o m 0 i r s m; j z p u: y; b m o m a&; "a v x; p r s m; u v n; v l t z l t p n; w i
t r s; o r; w l . v u a t m u c b 0 u y r w e; t m; a y; v u y y o n? b e; a w m l u; r s m; o n & y ± m
t w u b m o m a&; y / t c r; t e m; y v r; o b i r s m; Y t " u u: o r s m; j z p y; a , m u s m; r s m; u o m v i
x u o l& [e; y y i c i& a y& m a , m u s m; r s m; o n o m & y ± m . : u n n l a v; p m; r E i : o Z m t m % o m
t a w m r s m; r s m; u c p m; a e y y o n? t r s; o r; r s m; t w u o v& i t j z p c , E i a o m j i m; v n; o v& i
[o n b e; j u; x u e r u s o n [o w r w a o m a: u m i r s m; a o m t m; j z i : u n n l a v; p m; r r& u y?

t p 0 t v m& r; v l t z l t p n; w i& a u s; v u y n m a&; r m b e; j u; a u s m i; r s m; Y o m& y; b e; j u;
a u s m i; Y v n; u& i t j z p c , o n a , m u s m; a v; r s m; u o m o i , c i& a y o n? &r;jyn& t c l a o m
a u s; ± m r s m; w i , a e l x u w i a t m i t x u y t w i; j z p a e y o n? T t c u u a x m u v i o r;
r e; u a v; [o n t r a x m i u r n / y; v i u a v; t a r j z p r n q o n y a o , q c u E i q u p y
: u n E i o n r m r o m; p t a w m r s m; r s m; o n o m; a , m u s m; a v; r s m; . y n m a&; u y l 0; p m; a y; o n
q o n t " y l , o u a& m u y o n?

t q i t w e; t m; j z i v u a t m u c j z p& o n t m; a v s m p m t r s; o r; [o n t r s m; o i j a& w i Á a E
&& j z i o r o r a r i a e x i& r n [l v u c x m; u y; t r s; o m; r s m; u o r [w b v u r x y c i t x
u m a r o r p p m& u a& m i: u 0 a p m i x e; u y y o n? v u r x y r t y p i b 0 q; ±& o t r s; o r; r s m;

t m; 'q e; (r) w _ ' o i r [w ' t y u r' [l a c a 0 : u u m t r a x m i y y ; r v i r u p u l ; v e o u
v n ; w p w a , m u . t w i ; t : u y i r a : u m i j z p y : u c & o n w i a t m i O i ; 0 e ; j y p w i a 0 z e a v &
y o n ? r r w l . v r t 0 e ; t O i ; r i j p w i a 0 z e r n u p ; & r y y e o n p w u y i r ' r ; u i c & o t r ;
o r ; r m ; t m ; r r w l . t j z p t y : u u y e v n a j m y j c i ; r y & e [e w m ; y w y i v u j c i ; j z p y o n ?

o i & m w i r ' r ; a u m i r m ; t m ; t j y p a y ; E i & e t w u a u s ; v u a e & r ; t r ; o r ; r m ; t a e j z i t m ; u ;
t m ; x m ; y E i o n & r ; " a v x ; w r ; q i & m O y a ' t & t a & ; , r r m ; , c i u & c y o n ? j z p y m ; o n
t r r m ; u a u s ; ± m v j u ; r m ; a & a r m u w i p p a q ; u m t u , l t j y p & a : u m i ; a w i & y u u l ; v e o
o n u m , u & i t r ; o r ; / , i ; . r b r m ; E i a u s ; ± m v j u ; r m ; t m ; ' % a i a y ; a q m i & r n j z p o n ?
r ' r ; u i c & o t r ; o r ; r m ; t a e j z i , i ; w i t r u j r e r m E i i j y p r q i & m O y a ' t & w & m ; p & i a y ; & e
t w u i r i e , w & m ; ± r m ; o i v n ; a v m u x m ; w i j y E i o n t c i t a & ; & c y o n ? (t q y O y a ' t &
r ' r ; r t w u i y p ' % t j z p a x m i ' % 10 E p t x c r w E i a y o n ?

x i a : u m i v i t : u r ; z u r r m ; E i y w o u v i t r ; o r ; r m ; t w u O y a ' a : u m i ; t & t u m t u ,
a y ; E i o n j y i m e ; c u r m ; & c o n [q E i y o n ? o i & m w i w & m ; O y a ' u y r m r x m ; a o m p p t p ; &
a : u m i , i ; O y a ' r m ; o n w p x u w p a y m u y u a r ; r e c & o n ? T t p & i c p m w i y & a o m r ' r ; r
j z p p 0 t a j r m u t j r m ; u a v v m : u n v i r ' r ; u i c v u & o & r ; t r ; o r ; r m ; o n " a v x ; w r ;
t & , i ; w i . r b r m ; E i a u s ; ± m v j u ; r m ; x o i o m ; a & m u w i w e j c i ; j z i r r w l . & y ± m t 0 e ; t O i ;
t w i ; Y w & m ; r w r u & m a z & e i u ; p m ; c u a o m v n ; t q y a ' o r m ; w i u i o ; a e o n j r e r m p p
t p ; & . t ° u i ; r t m % m a : u m i b m w p c r ; t & m r x i j z p c & y o n ?

**& r ; j y n j y n w i ; p p t E p a v ; q , u n v t w i ; v i y i ; t : u r ; z u r r m ; E i t j y n j y n q i & m
O y a ' a 0 ; [m & t o ; t E e ; r m ;**

T t p & i c p m w i y ; c o n a j c m u E p u m v t w i ; j r e r m p p w y r u l ; v e c a o m r ' r ; r r m ; E i y w
o u l a z n j y x m ; o n o w i ; t c u t v u r m ; u p p n ; w i j y x m ; j c i ; j z p o n ? o i & m w i 1950 j y n
v e a e m u y i ; E p r m ; Y v r i ; p a w m v e a & ; t i t m ; p r m ; t m ; j r e r m p p w y r p p q i a & ; r m ; p w i
j y v y c o n t c e u w n ; u & r ; j y n w i v i t : u r ; z u r r m ; o n t E p a v ; q , t w i ; r q e ;
a w m o n t j z p t y : u r m ; j z p a e y o n ?

j y n w i ; p p j z p y m ; a e o n t a j c t a e a : u m i j r e r m p p w y r m ; t z i t j y p u c r n t a & ; p ; & r & e r v b
a ' o c v r ; p t r ; o r ; r m ; t a y : v i t : u r ; z u r r m ; u l ; v e & e v i p i & & a p c y o n ? t r ; o r ;
r m ; o n a w m v e a & ; u u n y y ; a e o r m ; j z p o n q o n t j r i t & , i ; w i u w & m ; O i t : u r ; z u
u l ; v e & r n y p r w r m ; t j z p o w r w c a y o n ? v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u r w i b u p & n ± , c u
r m ; v n ; y & & m w i a ' o c v x t m ; c r ; a j c m u j c i ; j z i , i ; w i u e m c w ; v ; v m a p & e t w u o m r u
b , i ; w i . w y r m ; u & e o . o m ; r , m ; r m ; t a y : r n r i a v m u t x } u ; p ; v r ; r E i o n u ° u m ; v ;
x w v u j c i ; t m ; j z i a w m v e a & ; t i t m ; p r m ; u t & u w u j z p a p j c i ; / p w " m w u s q i ; a p j c i ;
p o n & n ± , c u r m ; u y i v y a q m i E i a v o n ? x j y i v n ; w u c u a e a o m , i ; w i . w y r m ;
t w u y i q v m ' t j z p t o ; c v u j c i ; j z p a y o n ?

v r i ; u j y m ; r t a : u m i ; & i ; o n v n ; t : u r ; z u r j z p E i o n t v m ; t v m u y l q ; O i ; a p & m p p
t p ; & t a e j z i v r ; p y n e , r m ; w i t j c m ; a o m w i ; & i ; o m ; r m ; y O i o n , i ; w i . w y r m ; u w r i
w u m y i & n ± , c u & & c x m ; c o n ? p p w y u a ' o c v x E i u i ; u m a t m i y v y j c i ; / O i ' j z e i c r
r m ; j y v y u m A r m t r ; o m ; a & ; p w " m w u a j r m u y i a y ; a e j c i ; w a : u m i a ' o c v r ; p j y n o r m ;
t a y : v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u j c i ; t y i t O i t : u r ; z u r r m ; u y y ; a y ; & m a & m u c y o n ?

pp t p; & on y; con q , Epwum v t wi; Y ppwyuquvuw; c; zpn; cy; vr; p; jyne ,
rsm; wi ppwyrsm; yrc; x m; v mji; u v n; viyi; t; ur; zuru yrrm; jym; v mapcon?

jrermEiion 1949 cEp *eAmoabmwncu¹ wiy; 0ivurwa&; x; x m; on Eiijzpaom
v n; jrermpp t p; & on p mciyy; Oya' rsm; Eiywoul ppwy t wi; o ua& m u t m % mwn& e
v; 0ru; io; cay? T t p& icpmuzw±& mY at m uya 0 [m& t o; t Ee; rsm; u o& x m; o i y
on?

pp&mZ0wrrm; [q&mY Eiiwum t qiwi z pap/ jynwi; v ueu u i yÉyur sm; t wi; wi
jz pap/ 1949 cEp *eAmoabmwncu rsm; Eiywoul p; & rz , aumi; on c; azmurr sm; Ei
t jcm; aom ppyqi&mOya' or sm; t m; jyi; xepm c; azmurr sm; u t } u; t u s , u l; vecon t r
rsm; y; 0ion? p; & rz , aumi; on c; azmurr sm; Eiywoul t "y , ziq&mY t qy Oya' y' r
rsm; on r' r; rEi t jcm; viyi; t; ur; zurr sm; t m; r& n! e; aom v n; t jynjnqi&m
: u uajceaumrw (ICRC) ty t 0i t jcm; aom t z t pn; rsm; ur r' r; r t m; ' nO; ye; Eypur
o i r [w vrqepm iyrquqjci; ' o i r [w ' ' u qi; & j u; pmjz pap& e o i r [w cEmu , Ei
u e; rma& u t jyi; t xexcuemusiap& ewriyrjci; ' wwi t i u; 0ion [l t "y ,
aum u , : uyion?

vr; w; owjzwjci; [q&mY (owjzwjci; / t jyi; t xexcuemusiapjci; pon) t x;
owrwwm; jrp x m; on t y t rrm; t m; jzi EiiwpEii/ vr; pwpp/ vr; wpr; o i r [w
bmoma& qi&m vr t p t zwpc ponw t m; wpcv; u jz pap wppwwpyi; u jz pap z u q;
ajcre; & e& n± , um u l; veonvy&yrm; y; 0iyon? jrermEiion vr; w; owjzwon
&mZ0wrrm; um u , wm; q; a& Ei t a& , t jypay; a& qi&m oabmwncu (Genocide Con-
vention) wiy; 0ionEiir [wapumr , c t qY , i; oabmwncu on Eiiwi; rvuem&
rn t jynjnqi&mOya' t jzpvucx m; y jzpon?

v on; ci; rpnenon &mZ0wrrm; q&mwi (t vew&m q; 0; jyi; xeaom vrqeon t y
t rrm;) t x; owrwwm; jrp x m; on t y t rrm; t m; jzi t & yom; rsm; t m; Eii/ Eii a& / vr;
p/ vr; a& o i r [w bmoma& t ajccrsm; t & n± , um pepwus us , us , jyejyewucujci;
. wppwwyi; t jz p u l; veonvy&yrm; y; 0ion? xOya' wi v owjci; / r; izw owjzw
jci; / r' r; u i jci; / viau; u l e y jci; / vrsm; u t m % m jziazm uz u jci; Ei vr; a& ; qcm; rqi&m
&mZ0wrrm; t i u; 0ion?

v vci; pmemrui; ron vr; w; owjzwrEi pp&mZ0wrrm; u ppajy; ir; on t ceY u l; ve
on jz pap/ ppjz pae on t ceY u l; veon jz pap t a& , t jypay; Eiayon?

¹ jrermEiion 1949 cEp : o* wv 12 & uae; *eAmoabmwncu y; ppab; ' u onrm; um u , apmia& m u
a& p mci y u 1992 cEp : o* wv 25 & uae; u y; 0ivurwx; con?

² 1948 ' Zibmv 9 & uae; wi 78 U.N.T.S 277 t & tw n y con vr; w; owjzwon &mZ0wrrm; um u ,
wm; q; a& Ei t a& , t jypay; a& oabmwncu? t jynjnqi&m pp&mZ0wc& Oya' (Rome Statute) y' r 6 u: u ny?

³ v' ca& aumipq; jzwc u 808, 32 I.L.M> at 1159 (1993) ty' 48 Eit n wioi; on taxax t wi; a& r; c y.
t p& icpm?

⁴ a& m r Oya' (Rome Statute) . y' r 7(1) (g) wiazmjy x m; onen; wyi , * q v m; A; , m; Eii a [mi; twu
t jynjnqi&m pp&mZ0wc& Oya' (the ICTY) y' r 5(g) wi r' r; ru vom; ci; pmemrui; raom&mZ0wr t jz p
wuijwom; pmazmjy x m; on?

&r;jyn t wi; w;c|vmon ppwy y o i;r

&r;jyn t wi;&v ueu u i t z u; z⁵ teu wpz(&r;jyn wyrawm- awmiyi;) r v l u e t z i
r m; t m; v; o n p p t p; & E i t y p t c w & y p a & o a b m w n c u r m; & , x m; y j z p a o m v n; p p
t p; & o n 1988 c E p u w n; u p l & r; j y n w p c i v; w i p p w y t i t m; u o; q r w; c i y o n?
j r e r m p p w y. p p a y i; w i; p p l m e c l y 12 c t e u 3 c r m & r; j y n t w i; w i & a e y; w y & i; t i t m;
t a e j z i a t m u y t w i; j z p y o n?

t a & a j r m u y i; w i;	w y & i; 38 & i;
t a & y i; w i;	31 (u & i e y n w i t a j c p u o n w y & i; r m; r y)
j w * w i;	37
a j c j r e w y r 55	10

p p a y i; 116 & i;⁶

j r e r m E i i w i c e r e a j c t m; j z i w y & i; a y i; 500 r t o j z i j r e r m p p w y t i t m; . p p a y i; a v; y
w p y r m & r; j y n t w i; Y w y p x m; o n o a b m y i j z p . ?

'p p v u e u ' w p c t j z p c i l y x m; o n r ' r; u i j c i;'⁷

T t p & i c p m l y p & e p a q m i; & & c o n t a x m u t x m; r m; u; u n y u j r e r m p p t p; & . p p w y r m;
o n & r; j y n & t & y o m; j y n o r m; u , i; w l . a o m i; u e; o q e l u s i a & p r c u r m; j z i w u c u
v l u & m w i r ' r; u i j c i; u v u e u w p c o z , t p t p 0 c s t o; y a e a u m i; x i & m; p m a w j r i e i
a y o n? x o l v y a q m i a e r t m; p p w y r t m % m y i r m; u w & m; 0 i c i l y x m; a u m i; u T t c e;
w i a z m j y r n t a u m i; t c u r m; r w q i o & a u m u c u c e i y o n?

t p t p 0 c s u s , u s , j y e i j y e i u s l; v e c o n r ' r; r r m;

t r l; o r; t r m; p o n r ' r; u s i c & i c i; q o n t r n; p u a u m i v i y i; t u r; z u c & r r m; u
j y e v n a j m r j y u a u m i; o w y & r n j z p o n? x i y i v n; & r; j y n t w i; v l t c i t a & c l; a z m u
c & r o w i; r m; u x i j r e r m e , p y o l a & m u & v m o ' u o n r m; x r w q i o m a v v m o & i c i; j z p
o j z i w j c m; t j z p t y u t a w m r m; r m; u & r; v l t c i t a & r 3 4 l i r t u e t p i r o E i y ? x l a u m i
T t p & i c p m w i y & a o m u e; * % e; t c u t v u r m; o n t r e w u , j z p y u c o n x u r m; p m
a v m e n; a u m i; a v m e n; a e E i y o n?

⁵ j r e r m w i; & i; o m; ' r u a & p w y a y i; p l 0 a o; p n; n ! w a & w y r a w m l t r i; o m; ' r u & u w p n ! w a & w y r a w m l
& r; j y n w y r a w m (a j r m u y i;) / u c i u m u , a & w y r a w m l y t l 0 t r i; o m; t z l y a v m i y n e , v w a j r m u a & w y r a w m l
& r; j y n v r i; a y i; p v w a j r m u a & t z l & r; t r i; o m; w y r a w m E i & r; j y n w y r a w m (a w m i y i;) ?

⁶ j r e r m E i i v; q i & m a u s m i; o m; r m; ' r u & u w p w y 0; E i & r; o a w m q i o w i; m e w i r t c u t v u & , o n ?

⁷ Kunarac, Kovac and Vukovic t r u I C T Y r : u m; e m p p a q; c p 0 u ' p p v u e u ' [o n w u c u a & v y & m; r
r m; . t p w t y i; t j z p z i r q v i t r i; o r; r m; u r ' r; u s i e t w u a b m p e; , m; q m b v u e u u i w y z l r m; t m;
! e u m; c o n t r e l o j r [w 0 i; 0 e y; a y i; l v y a q m i o n e n; v r; w p r i; j z p o n [& i; v i; a z m i y c o n ? Kunarac,
Kovac and Vukovic t r t a y: T r i a l C h a m b e r I I r p & i c u The Hague, 22 February 2001 JL/P.I.S./566-e E i y w o u o n
o w i; x w j y e c u w i; u n y ?

T t p&icpmwiazmijxm;aom y;co najcm uEp t wi;jzpyuconr'r;rEi t jcm;viyi;
t:ur;zurrm;u a t m uy; t wi; t u;O;ciyav v mEiayon?

cEp	t rayi;	re;uav;0;a& (ceire;)	t r;or;0;a& (ceire;)	jzpy;m;con a'o
1996	5	4	6	5 irje ,
1997	30	25	157	11 irje ,
1998	30	18	38	13 irje ,
1999	26	17	71	13 irje ,
2000	33	13	69	17 irje ,
2001	44	15	186	17 irje ,
ppay;i;	168	92	527	

2001 cEp t wi;jzpy;m;caom r'r;r t a& t w uEi r'r;r;uic&onre;uav;Ei t r;or;
t a& t w u:u n v i u e conEpr;m;u x uyrr;m;jym;v m on uawEiayon? T t cu u
av v m:unrnqy;u &r;jyn t wi;Y 'i r;r;a&' jjev n&aey; [l p p t p;&rajym qae
aom v n; , i;w; . wyr;m; t aezi t &yom;jyn or;m; t ay:wi v t ci t a&ci;azm urrm;u
, ci x uyrEe;x m;jrium qu v u u;veae:ua:umi; aw&yon?

T t p&icpmwiazmijxm;onr'r;r t jz p t y;ur;m;wi jrermppwy . wy&i;ppay;i; **i;q , Ep**
cr wyz;r;m;y;Oiywo uconqci;rm v n; t a&u;on t cu;jzpyon (aem u quw 4 u
:uny)? , i;on r'r;r;usijci;u jrermppwy&m;x;t q i t m;v;r v ucxm;on qaom
pw0ipm;z , aumi;on t axmu t xm;wpcyijzpon?

r'r;r;rusl;vec on ppwy t &n&r;m;

r'r;r;usijci;t m; ppwy t m%myir;m;ucilyxm;onqci;u x i&m;apon t cuwpcurm
T t p&icpmYy&onr'r;r;m;. 83 &mciEe;on a t m u wiazmijxm;aom r'r;r;rusl;vec
or;m;pm&i;wiy&on t wi; wy:uyt qir Avr;t q i t y;t O i ppwy t &m&r;m;u ul;ve
cuonqon t cu;yijzpon?

t q i t we;	usl;vec on r'r;r t a& t w u
'wyr;S t &m&'(t q i qcm;r xm;)	48
Avr;	14
Av}u;	63
Av	5
wy:uy}u;	6
wy:uy	3

ppay;i; 139

T r'r;r t r;m;p (85 %) jzpy;uccewi t &m&jzpoon t jcm;aomwyom;r;m;Ei t w **wn0e**
xr;aqni aep0 jzpy; , i; . usl;veruz;u , &ev n; v;O i u;pm;jci;riycy? pipp t m;jzi x

t&m&jzpoon r'r;u&i&o(r;m;)u ,i;.wyom;r;m;vuoluvay;vuji;omjzpy;
tr∨t m; Oi;Oe;lr'r;u:i-u&eci&yvuji;or [w ow&eci&yvuji;omjzpyon?

tou 18 Ep/ 21 Ep/ 24 Ept o;o;&uaom tr∨o;O;on ,i;w&aexi&m
ri;qwre,/ yqwa;u;±m taemubuEpritum um;vr; te;& awmxwi
xi;&maepOY cr& 359 r wyom; 80 celu ,i;w&t m; zr;q;umppaq; ar;jre;con?
c%r+umaom Av|u;xe;au&mu ti, q; re;uav; t m; te;&cywx o|
ac:aqm iom; umr'r;u&icon? xlaemuwi ue tr∨r;m;u v n; ,i;. v uat mu
t&m&r;m; o|ay;um ,i;w&t m;r'r;u:i-u&ejym-um;on? xlaemuwyom;r;m;on
tr∨o;a, muv;u t ouxuont x wwr;m;ji±uEuc&uon? (jzp&y 105)

r'r;u&i&y; tr∨r;m; t m; n0;ye;Eypujci;Ei owjzwjci;

ppom;r;m;u&l;veconrw&m;yu&irrm;uazmijaeon xerEior;r& t vetri;vrqer
on a'oct&yom; vx t m; t:ur;zu&cr;ajcm uumv uat muct jzpowoi;&eprcu .
tpwt yi;wpc t jzp n0;ye;Eypu um t:ur;zu&onen;vr;r;m; ty t 0ir'r;u&ijci;r;m;u
t o;ya&onqjci;u t xit&m;jyoaeayon? &&xm;on rwwr;r;m;. 25 &mciEe;aom
tjzpt yur;m;wi um, u&i&re;uav; oir [w tr∨r;m;on rw&m;jyusic&y;on
aemuwi aoewjiypowjci;/ t ou&l;uya t mivyl owjci;/ ±uEul owjci;/ "m;jizx;
lowjci; oir [w r;&l;owjci;r;m;cc&u&on?

azmijxm;ont jzpt yur;m;pmw&wi tr∨r;m;on rw&m;jyusic&±omru/ ±uEujci;/
O;aci;uyvypwptwpyum t ou&l;uya t mivjci;/ &iom;u"m;jizv;jci;pon ±yi;
qi&m n0;ye;Eypurr;m;uy cc&u&on? at muazmijy t jzpt yuy tr∨qv i owar
ajrmon t x±uEuc&y;aemurw&m;jyusic&um u, 0eon ,i;. t prjzpormv n;
t owcvu&on?

o|ct jzpou qew| wjcm;pm;p&mwi, z| ±mujyeom;cw,? v, xuppom;aw
a&mu vmawm re;rEpa, mux&aewmaw&w,? t'ppom;awu owEpa, muu
&r;wyom;aw&l; re;rawv|ppy;awm&uEu:uw,? ow| m re;reay±mu
±m om;awomjzpw t a:umi; &i;jyz|u;pm;ayr, ppom;awu owajymwmu
v;0em;raxmib o|t prjzpou owvpom;wt xwwe±u:u w,/ ou
o|t prrm u, 0e&aeyw, v|ajym;y; t oem;cawm owu o|tr& Auuawmi
wwe|x;vuyao;w,? t'vo|t prAu uwwex;wmu Oiwm;z|
|u;pm;wt cerm t&m&wpa, muu o|aci;uwwex±uvuv| arv om;w,?
o t'vowvpom;wt cerm t&m&wpa, muu wxu ty, may:u'±wwu
q, om;y; rw&m;jyusiw,? y;om;wt c|u&awm aemu xyowvpom;at mi
t:um|u;±uiyew,? owiye&w t cerm o|rm b m t Ow t pm;rr&awm b ajr|u;ay:
vaewm o&y; o|t pr [m v n; wt jyiburmao q;aewmuawv u&w,?
ppom;awuawmwpa, murr&awm b;? o|rm&wai uyEpa xmie| a±awu, y;
xuom;cu:y? (jzp&y 64)

tjzpt yu t awmr;m;r;m;wi rw&m;jyusic&y;aemu t owcc&orm; . tavmi;u azmu
zu&ei;u;pm;qci;r&l; v;Oraw&y? ri;u;pm;±wiru at muazmijy t jzpt yu u:uny u &ze

&cwi a'ocwi;&i;om;vx t m;cr;ajcmuonen;vr;wpc t jzp rw&m;yu:ijci;/ owjzw
jci;wlu t r m;a&wiyi wriououu;l;vejy:uon uaw&yion?

vcm;ire, xu ae&ma±ajymi;cxm;&w±mwpmjzpw aemiaum±mem;u
v, u uwpcem;rm Em;pmau;zaumu±o, aew tou 12 Ept±,
re;uav;wpa, muu cvrwypce;u e0w⁸ ppom;awur'r;usi;awm
aoewelpowcw, ? re;uav;&aqr;l;om;ci;awuaowo:um;v;bmjzpaewm v
qwmuv m:unwt cerm ppom;awu0i;wm;xm;uw, ? tavmi;uo!*[z
ci;yc:uawmi;wt c;rm “ri;w&r;ijnvaw erem t jzp:unz! o!u 'twi;xm;
xm;&r, ? ri;w!oi*[r, q&iawm ri;w!vn;o!vyao&r,” v! ppom;awu
ajymy;w, ? (jzp&y 15)

typv u r'r;u:ijci;

,cazmjyxm;onr'r;rjzp&yrm;. 61 &mciEe;wi typvur'r;u:ijci;rm;y0ion? T
jzp&yrm;Y t e;wiru;jriouao&aenuyi vira:umu:uaoma:umi payi;0i;0e;l
u;l;vecjci;jzpa:umi; xi&m;aeayon?

t qy typvu u;l;verjzp&ytwmrm;rm;wi r'r;u:ic&orm;rm owjzwjci;uy:u
&on? o!&mwi t c!aomjzp&yrm;Yvn; r'r;u:ic&otr;l;or;rm;ujyevway;vuav&m
u;l;veorm;on trEiywoulaemuquw*, u&urnta&u p;p0;ra:umu±jci;r&
:ua:umi;aw!&yion?

tou 18 Ep/ 35 Ep/ 37 Ept o;o;&o tr;l;or; o;0;on cvrt&y&
,i;w! . v, xY&ae:up0 Av!u;oe;armi0;aqmiaom cv& 99 r titm; 80
&ppwyr zr;q;om;jci;ucc&on? ,i;w!u 4 &uEi 3 nwwzr;q;xm;y;
x tawm twi; ppom;rm;u t}ur!urtypvur'r;u:ijci;ucc&on? x!aemu
,i;w! t m; jye vway;vuon? (jzp&y 116)

ppwypce;rm;twi;Y r'r;u:ijci;

r'r;rjzp&y 11 cwi trewu ,yi ppwypce;rm;twi;Yu;l;veca:umi; t jcm;aomppwy
t&m&rm;wiru pce;t e;w0uwiaexiona'ocvxuy t uetpio&uonqon
t c!u u:unv!i pptp;&wyom;rm;t aeizi rno!vyvyjyp'%ay;c&rnr [wa:umi;u
o&y; rnr!ar!av mcpm;ci&ae:uon u jyoaeyon?

jzp&ywpcwiqyu vcm;jr;r t xuwe;au:mi;oEp0;on au:mi;t pn;t a0;wpcwi
pptp;&. ay:vpEiywou l yiyi v i;vi;a0zeajymqcræ:umi ,i;w! . ppom;rm;u
t r m;a&wiyi zr;q;uma'ocpppce;o!ac:aqmio m;y;aemu “jyp'%” [, q&r n
oabmr;l;izi wy&i;r;jzpou av;&uEiav;nwiat mi r'r;u:icon? aemuq; yuqay;l
jyev v , on t cr jye vway;con?

⁸ Ei iawm ir0yyjm;rwnaqmua&t z? v u&jrermpp t p;&. , ci t rna [mi;

vc;m;rw; au;mi;om;0;a& 84 a, mu;ziajcmu;we; t x o i;um;ay;aeaom
 t v, we;au;mi;wpau;mi;Y au;mi;t p n; t a0;wp;ci;vycon? t p n; t a0;
 re;ce;aj;m t y;wi au;mi;tyjzpou au;mi;om;r;m; t m; bmar;p&m&ov[ar;jre;c
 on? x t c;Y t o u 17 Ep t&, i;we;au;mi;owp0;u " t p;&wyom;v;ajymw
 Armppom;awu jynoawu bmjzpv;avmuzEyaewmvqwm usar;ciyw,?
 au;±mawu±m;om;aw t r;m;u;u t wi;t "r;ra;wuajym;ci;w, / t 'r;m v n;
 t ajcc;ae x i;ze; &mazpm;aomuz t cu t caw t r;m;u;w, ? owiaw[m t &r;
 oem;p&maumi;w, " [ajymavon? aemuxy t o u 18 Ep t±, ajcmu;we;
 au;mi;owp0;u v n; " t p;&ppwyu bmjzpv; vc;m;ap;u;ae&muywypvu
 wmv? 'ap;u t 'ae&mrm&aewm :um v y/ t c t p;&ppom;awuap;uywvuw
 Epywo;ywawmi&om;y/ t c x u x v n; jyerzib;? t 'bmjzpv;v? wu, v/
 t p;&ppom;awu &r;ppom;awu a'oxuaew, q&i v n; &r;ppom;awaemu u
 vuzau;mi;yw, " [ajymon? cwcw;zi w;qi;aeonau;mi;tyq&mu rnoir;
 jyerajEirmyi au;mi;wivca&wm0ec;xm;aom ppom;Epa, muu au;mi;o
 Epa, muu t j i a c: x w u m p p w y p c e; o i;om;y; wy&i;r; jzpo t m; ar;&r n ajm
 qy;aemu cr& 515 wypce;o i a c: a q m i o m;con? wy&i;r;u t qy r e;uav;
 Ep0;u ciyaEmixm;vuon? na&muon t c;Y re;uav;wp0;u ,i;. tyce;wi;
 o i a c: u m y p w a o e w j z i c e l t o w t p m; r m; u c l w c i;on? x i a e m u w p n v;
 r w & m; i y u s i c o n? a e m u w p & u r e u w i u e r e;uav;wp0;u a c: u m w p & u E i
 w p n v; r w & m; i y u s i y e o n? x o i a v; & u E i a v; n w i a t m i w p a, m u p t v n u s
 r w & m; i y u s i y; a e m u w y & i; r; u , i; w i u y e v w a y; a p v y u w p 0; t w u 15000
 u y a y; & r n [, i; w i . r b r m; x a w m i; c c o n? (jzp&y 91)

r' r; u; i & e & n ± , c u j z i q u v u c i y a E n i r r m;

jzp&yay;i; 24 cwi t r; or; r m; on r' r; u; i & e & n ± , c u j z i p p t p; & w y r m; u a v; v w i
 o n a t m i z r; q; c i y a E m i j c i; c c & a y o n? T a e & m w i v n; v u w e j y e c & r n u a: u m u ± j c i;
 t v o; r & b t r; or; r m; t m; " a y m a w m q u " t j z p a j A m i u; p m t o; i y a e o n u a x m u y u
 p p w y t w i; Y r' r; u; i j c i; E i y w o u v i t a & , t j y p a y; r & r & q o n u w u q E i y o n?

t r; or; 4 0; E i t r; o m; 6 0; w i o n v , x w i t v y v y u i a e p 0 z r; q; c & y; a e m u
 p p w y y p n; y p , r m; t m; t w i; t " r o , a q m i c i; u m a ± a j y m i; a e & m c: x m; o n a ' o
 r m; t w i; p e i c m o m; u o n ± m r m; o i u i; v n v n p 0 v u y & e t w i; t " r a c: a q m i
 o m; c o n? n t c e r m; w i , i; w i a & m u o n a e & m Y i p c e; c: u y; w c w & w i w p a e & m
 w n; Y E p & u o; & u: u m a t m i & y e m; a v & o n? t r; or; r m; on n p 0 v v y i p p o m;
 w p a, m u r [w w p a, m u u r w & m; i y u s i j c i; u c u & a y o n? t q y ± m o m; r m; on
 7/ 8/ 2002 r 20/ 11/ 2002 t x a v; v e y; w i a t m i a w m u a v m u t c r p p w y
 a y; w m t j z p t w i; t " r c i; a p c c & o n? x u m v t a w m t w i; Y t r; or; r m; u v n;
 t w i; t " r c r; a j c m u y; v i a u; u l e r m; t j z p t o; a w m c c i; c y o n? (jzp&y 120)

t j y p u s; v e o r m; u w & m; p q r r & j c i; E i w i w e; o r m; u t j y p a y; j c i;

T t p & i c p m w i a z m i y x m; a o m t j z p t y u r m; u a v v m; u n y u p p w y t m % o m y i r m; t a e j i
 , i; w i . w y t w i; & r' r; r u s; v e c o r m; t a y; w & m; p & i p p a q j c i; r m; t a & w , i y v y a q m i

±urr&±omru t qyjp&yrm;Eiywoul wiwe;vmor;m;u v n; Eypun0;ye;ji;/
t u0;c;x m;ji;/ '%wyji;rsm; yvyum rwiwe;&atmi t x; t m±puaqmi±uaea:umi;
t x i t &m;awjriEiyon?

T t p&icpmwiazm;yxm;on r'r;rjzp&ytrm;pwi rw&m; yuic&orm;on x o; t Ei
t x u; yrc&yu 0;pm rom;pwi;rwpa, mua, mu t m; yea;ymjy; aemu au;±mo}u; jzpap
t jcm;aom &y±m v}u; jzpap wa, mua, mu x o; wi:um; cuyon? x t cwi t m; v; u
um, u&i;re;uav; oir [w t r; or; jzp o t m; vyaqmi&etaumi;q;en;vr;u t}uay;
ajmq:u&ayon? t rsm; t m; jzi (jzp&y 22 cwi 13 &mciEe;Y) ±mo}u; jzpou um, u&i
rom;p t m; t rEiywoul aemu xywiwe;rsm; qurvy&Ei w&m;p&ir&&vmrnr [w
ont jyi wiwe;orm; twuy t E&m, &vmEia:umi; jzi t}uay; ajmqcon? ±mo}u;
wp0; qy u r'r; rwp cEiywoulowi; ywiwe; crji; a:umi, i; u, wiyi±uEuc&um
n0; ye; Eypuc&y; ao q; om; con jzp&ywpcu:unv i a'oc&y±m v}u; rsm; taeji t qy
up&yrm;Y 0iry;vm&etwu t [e; t w m; rsm; &aea:umi;awj&&ayon?

(t ou 19 Ept±, re;uav;wp0;u v, wxwir'e;usi owjzwy;aemu)
v, wxr xuvmon Av}u; p; vit m; awjrivuo±mo}u; wp0; on jzpyuc
ont jci; t&mu o&y; aemuwi au; p; iri o; om; a&muum iri cv}u; jzp o t m; wi
we;con? r'r;rEivowrtay: ±mo}u; u, i; t m; oo, &aea:umi; u t qy
ppAv:um; oom; con? 13/ 12/ 1998 reuapmapm 4 em&ccelwi t qyppAv
Eippom; t c; on aemiau mau; ±mo}a&mu&vmum ±mo}u;. tru0i; vuy;
&maza&vyuon? acwr&maz:u; y; aemu vr; avmupum; ajympu (a0:u awmu)
wpv; u t r xrawon [ppom; rsm; uajym&m p; viu ±mo}u; jzp o u zr; q; &
cujci; t relay; vuon? t qyvr; avmupum; ajympurm, i; ppAv. wyom; rsm; r
tapm}u; uwn; u u wium wwwq waxm i x m; jci; jzponu ±mo; rsm; taeji
aocmayu o&uyon? ppAvEi, i;. wyom; rsm; on ±mo}u; t m; t rwiwi i u;
jzicn; y; ±uEun0; qum ppaq; ar; jre:uon? x vr; avmupum; ajympuu
rnonae&mr&ov/ rnon&r; awmvea& t zr, i; t m; ay; co v pojziar; jre:uy;
vnacmi; x o; a&aE; yrm; avmi; x num t rwiwi u; jzi w w v i u om; tae t x m;
jzi ao q; om; onwia t mi, i; t m; 0i; 0e; ±uEuueau sm:u on? (jzp&y 70)

r'r; usic&ont jzptyuu pptp; &t m%omyi rsm; x o; wi:um; jci; r&atmi
re;uav; i, rsm;/ t r; or; rsm; t m; w m; jrp [e w m; aeont jcm; aom t a:umi; &i; crm -
, i; w taeji jrerpum; rwwji; a:umi aemu quww&m; pqr rsm; yvyont cwi oo
omomyi t m; en; c; u}u; wpcjzpapyon? x jyi v n; , i; w on t rsm; t m; jzi rw&m;
yusico. trn/ rnon wy&i; wypyrjzponw u ro&uaoma:umi t rEiywoul
, i; w wi ouao taxmu t x m; jyoEirnt vm; t vmr&onu oabmayuae:ujci;
yijzpyon?

o; aom v n; azm; yx m; on r'r;rjzp&yrm; xr 37 c (21 &mciEe;) wi r'r; usic&orm;/
, i; w. aqr; l; om; c; i; rsm; oir [w &y±m v}u; jzpor sm; on t rEiywoul pptp; &
t m%omyi w i x t reyiw i:um; &cuyon? x t x r t rwp cYom v i (1997 {yvtwi})
ri; qw t ajrmuwy&i; r r'r; ru; l; veoppom; wp0; u, i;. wy&i; r; jzpou ta&; ,
t jypay; cz; yon?

"t'ae|naeyi;awmawma v;r;cl|y v| ±m o|u; o|v ,awm u jye v m w t c e r m o |u
ur jyeajm jyvuyw,? 'e|ou 'r m&w p p t p;& p p w y u w y&i;r; q u o m;y;awm
wiw,? wy&i;r;u urur'r;u icw t'p p o m;u |u;e|w w y; ±u y;awm t c l y
a x m i x n v u w ,?" (jzp&y 24)

T jzp&y w i y i v i x o | t a& , c r r m O y a ' v y x ; v y e n ; r m ; t & j z p [e r & a : u m i ; a w & o j z i
j y p r u l ; v e o o n v n ; r ' r ; r t w u o w r w x m ; o n t r m ; q ; a x m i ' % 10 E p u s c & r n
v u % m r & a y ?

jzp&y 11 c w i p p t p ; & . t & m & r m ; o n w i w e ; r u v u c r w o m ; c a o m v n ; a e m u x y
b m w p c r i r v y a q m i c y ? j z p & y 9 c w i p p t & m & r m ; o n r w & m ; y u s i c & o u , i ; t m ;
u l ; v e c o r n o r n o j z p a : u m i ; a ± ; x w j y a p & e t w u p p o m ; t a , m u 80 c e | u w e ; p j y o
c a o m j i m ; v n ; t r e w u , u l ; v e c o u r w r i w u m y i w e ; r p a p b c e v y x m ; c y | o n ?
t r e w u , u l ; v e c o r n o j z p a : u m i ; c j m ; r j y E i c o n t r w p c w i w i w e ; o ± m o | u ; r m
o w v p o n x ± u E u c & y ; a e m u c l y a E m i c x m ; & & m r w & m ; y u s i c & o . r o m ; p r , i ; .
v w a j r m u a & ; t w u u y a i 2000 a y ; c & a y o n ? a e m u j z p & y E p c w i r r w & m ; y u s i c c & o
t r l ; o r ; u , w i t u | o ; c c & y ; a e m u j y e v w a y ; & e t w u a i 20000 u y t x y i a y ; c & y | o n ?
a e m u j z p & y w p c w i ± m o | u ; E i o . v u a x m u E p 0 ; v ; u t u | o ; c c & m j y e v n v w a j r m u a & ;
t w u 5500 u y a y ; c & y | o n ? a e m u j z p & y o ; c w i u m ; w i w e ; o r m ; o n t u | o ; c r c &
a o m v n ; p p w y u t o a & z u o n [q u m ' % a i u y 30000 t x a y ; c & o n ?

jzp&y w p c Y o m v i w e ; p j y x m ; o n t x r u l ; v e c o r n o j z p a : u m i ; a ± ; x w j y o e i c y ; , i ;
o n v n ; t y p t c w & y p x m ; o n & r ; t z i w p z i r t & m & w p 0 ; . : u m ; O i a q m i ± u r a : u m i o m
a ± ; x w E i c j c i ; j z p [e w a y o n ? o | & m w i x o | c j m ; a ± ; x w j y ; a e m u Y v n ; q u v u l
r n o | r t a & ; , a q m i ± u j c i ; r & c a y ?

r m ; a o m t m ; j z i p p t p ; & . t & m & r m ; o n p y p c u u v ; v ; v s m ; v s m ; y , c c o n u r s m ; a y o n ?
w i w e ; c o n t r r m ; x r o ; c w i t r j z p y m ; c e Y t r u l ; v e o n o o n t q y a ' o w i r &
a : u m i ; t c i t r m j i i ; q c u y ; t r w p c w i q y u u l ; v e o o n x a ' o r a j y m i ; a & | o m ; o n r m
: u m j r i v y j z p a : u m i ; a j y m q c u o n ? T a e & m Y o x m ; o i o n t c s u r m t r e w u , u t r E p c
w i p y p c & o n t & m & u t j c m ; w y w p w y o | c u j c i ; a j y m i ; a & | c j c i ; o m j z p a y o n ?

p y p c u r m ; E i y w o u l p p t p ; & . t & m & r m ; r v ; v ; v s m ; v s m ; y , c c o n j z p & y 11 c t e u 7
c w i w i w e ; o r m ; o n w i w e ; r i y j c i ; a : u m i y i t a & ; , t j y p a y ; c c u & o n ? j z p & y 3 c w i
w i w e ; o r m ; o n ± u E u n 0 ; y e ; c c u & m w i - r w & m ; y u s i c & o r m o w v p o n x
± u E u c c & o n / a e m u r w & m ; y u s i c & o . z c i j z p o o n v n ; ± u E u c c & o n / ± m o | u ; w p 0 ;
r m v n ; ± u y w j c i ; c c & o n ? j z p & y 6 c w i w i w e ; o r m ; o n w i w e ; r i y v y j c i ; t w u a i
60000 t x y i ' % a i t w y c c & y | o n ? j z p & y w p c w i r w & m ; y u s i c & o . z c i r m
z r ; q ; c l y a E m i j c i ; c c & y ; j y e v n v w a j r m u & e t w u a u s ; ± m v | u ; r m ; r E m ; w p a u m i
a y ; c & o n ?

T t p & i c p m w i a z m j y x m ; o n j z p & y r m ; t m ; v ; w i r ' r ; r t j z p w & m ; p q E i & e t " u v t y
a o m t c u j z p o n r ' r ; u s i c & o t r l ; o r ; r m ; t m ; w & m ; O i a q ; p p c : u & , & e p p t p ; &

t m%myi rsm; r ajm qvya qmijci; v;0r&cy? Tae&mwiv n; ,i;w wi jyr
u;l;veor m;u Oya'a:umi; t&w&m;p&ia&u tav; teux m;on&n±, cu v;0
r&a:umi; jyoaeyon?

jzp&y 11 cwi r'r;uic&ra:umi xcutemw&jzpci;/ zm;emici;w;twu aq;0;uorc,
Ei&ev n;aumi;/ u;pua&m*&r&ao;pp&ev n;aumi; tr∨rm;u, wi oir[w ,i;w
.rom;prsm;rpp0vyaqmieu a:umi;vn; o&yion? jzp&y 2 cwi rw&m;yuison
taxmutx m;rm;u aq;±0exr;rm;r ppaq;rrwr;wicy; aemu jzp&ywpcwi
(ppom;wp0;r trwi;Yr'r;usi)uici;cc&ontoui;Ept±, re;uav;tr) qyu "mwy
rm;yi±u, x m;um T t jzpt y;u twu ,i;w u;yr;wi:um;ay;rnjzpa:umi; ajm:um;c
on? oiaom aemu xyrnont a&;, rri&cb t jcm;jzp&ywpcY qyu ±uEur'r;uic
c&on trl;or;wp0; t m; xcu '%&m&ont aumi;&i;reuvrnajm q&etwu aq;u
ay;onaq;±0exr;rm;u, Yuyi t)uay;cuon? wen;t m;izi qaom tru&wiw&m;
pqa&;twuwuwe;&euyi aq;±rwm0e&0exr;rm;u, wiu ppwy t m%myi rsm; t m;
tvea:umu±ae:uici;jzpyion?

*xiaemu u:yom;on 0;aci;r'%&muuo&etwu aq;±oia&mu&om;ont cY
o! t m; rno;jzpyuconuar;jre;uon? ou ppom;rm; .±uEuici;cc&
aumi;ajmijyont cY aq;±0exr;rm;u aci;ay;o!opui;u;l;uaoma:umijzp&
on[ajmci;uavon? ,i;w taezi ppom;rm;xyra&mu&vm;y, o! t m; ta&;,
t jypay;c&r nup;&raoma:umijzpyion? o v n; tveyia:umu±om;um Ep&u
o;&u t:umwi xi;jrme, pyo!x uajy;vmcon? (jzp&y 64)*

r'r;uic&ici; tay:ccEi r yrui;r vmapon ppyoi;rrm;

T t p&icpmY r'r;uici;u 'ppv ueu'wpcoz, to;caeici;u xwazmwijx m;ou
o! &r;jyn twi; ppwyr w;civyaqmivmaeon ppyoi;rrm;/ aomi;ue;oqeu sia&;
prcursm;onvn; &r;jynau;vua'orm;&tr∨rm;t z r'r;uici;ucceir yr
ui;rvmap&e &n±, vyaqmiaeci;jzpa:umi;u v n; azmijx m;ont jzpt y;ur m; t &
t xit &m;awjriEi yion? T t ce;wi t qyt ajcc t a:umi;rm; t m; qe;ppjx m;yion?

t wi; t "rajymi;a&ae&mc:xm;ici;

T t p&icpmEi twazmijx m;onajry (aemuquw 3) uavvmyu rwwr;&&x m;on
r'r;rtrm;p (76 &mciEe;) on &r;jyn tv,yi;a'orm;jzpon au;vuawme,rvx
t "rajymi;a&ae&mc:xm;&ona'orm;wijzpy m;cici;u t xit &m;awjri&yion?

jrrm ptp&on au;vua'ocv x t m; awmvea&wyzrm;u unaxmuyici;riyEi&e
&n±, cu zi twi; t "rajymi;a&ae&mc;ici;rm; t m; , ciu m v tawm:um uwn;u iyvy
aecayon? &r;jyn twi; t)u;us, q;ajymi;a&ae&mc:xm;r (, cxwiat miv n; quvu
iyvyaeqjzpaom) u1996 - 1997 cEpr m;wi pwiiyvyc&mw i pptp&on au;±mayi;
1400 aum (au;vuawme, vx 3 oe;aum/ v, orm;trm;p) u vr;r;u;rm;/ jrrm
ppwypce;rm; t e;& r [mA l [mu:sonajymi;a&ci:xm;r nae&mr m;qo! aoewjziceum
ajymi;a&ici;con? v, ajr/ t ouar;0r;a:umi;r t m;v;q;±c&on T ±mom;rm;on pp

tp&xrvn; rnontaxmutyr&&ub tawmrsm;rm;on aejpm;tvyur;orm;/
awmi;pm;&onb0rsm;ola&mu&ap&e we;ycae&ayon? oijzpci;aumi ceire;ajctm;ji
&r; vr\$; 150000 celon ajymi;a±tvyorm;rm;b0zi tou&i&ywna&twu iu;yr;
Ei&e xi;Eiwi;oixuaj;cuon? use aomi;Eicon&r;vr\$;rm;rm ;i;wł. ,cirv
au;±mrsm;te&awmxawmi xYyi ye;atmi;aeu&ayon?

Ttwi;t"rajymi;a±ae&mcsxm;ontptp0a:umi trr;or;rm;tzi en;tr\$;r\$;zi r'r;
uic&rn ta&uccEiryui;rvmapyon?

±mon;rm;t n; twi;t"rajyni;a±ae&mcsaep0twi;r'r;usi jci;

au;±mrsm;u twi;t"rajymi;a±ae&mcs&mwi rsm;aomtm;ji Ewreloir[w pmjzia&om;
um rrwł. ±mrowrwxm;aom&u twi; (trsm;t m;ji 3 &ur 7 &u twi;) xucm&u&e
trelay;cijzpyon? tu, I aemuq;owrw&uau smvey;onwiatmi ±mxwi awł
&&y u awłonEiypowc&rnjzpa:umi;jizvn; ajym;um;con? oł&mwi jzp&y tawm
rm;rm;Y aemuq;owrw&uyirapmib ajymi;a±reirsm;xwijey;onEicujci;aomvn;
aumi;/ ±mom;rm;ajymi;a±aep0rmyivn;aumi; au;±mvxtm; t:ur;zurrsm;pwilyvy
avawmon?

au;±mvxtm;t:ur;zuonae&mwi ±uEujci;/ en;tr\$;r\$;zi Eypujci;/ trwi;Yyi
t&i vvvwr;±owjzwjci;wy0ion? xijyi r'r;usi jci;vn;y0ion?

Ttp&icpmwiy&aom r'r;usirtjzptyursm;. 6 &mciEe;on au;±mvxu twi;
t"rajymi;a±xucmci;aep0twi;Y jzpym;cyion?

rwaumuau;±mrv,uuwpuute;& rom;p 5 0;aexionwaw;wpv;oł
et z ppom;rm;a&mu&vmp0 ,i;włtm;jriawłom;con? ,i;wł. ±mon vcm;
jyevnae&mcsxm;a&a'ool t"rajymi;a±cc&y; ,i;włonvr;c&cvwwia&mu
&aejci;jzpum ta:umi;trr;ra:umixae&mY acw&yem;aejci;jzpon? zcijzpo
tm; ppom;rm;u w. xwwe;wi iu;jiwavmi;cnumatmuwnwnwi r;zy;
r;jziruavon? xlaemuwi q,aumout±,re;uav;i,u typvur'r;
usi:u;y; aemuq;Yowypvu:uon? zcijzpoonvn; &uten;i,t:umY
n0;ye;Eypuon'%ucpm;&y;aemuaog;c&on? rcijzpormvn; ciye;on
n0;ye;Eypuc&yEi or;jzpo tm;rw&m;iyusi;y;owjzwc&ontjzpuawjri v u
&y;aemu rcw iucpm;&um pwazm uijyeom;con? (jzp&y 17)

jyevnae&mcsxm;ona'o tji buwiawł&o trr;or;rm;t n; r'r;usi jci;

owrwxm;ona&ma'orm;oł ajymi;a±ae&mcs&mwi au;±mvxtm; ,i;wł. rvau;±m
Ei v , , mrm;&&m oijyevnom;a&mujci;riy&ewm;jrpxm;ontji ae&mcsxm;ona'o .
owrwxm;ona'otwi; ywyvvn Eprio;rixuylxucir&atmiuełowxm;ay
on? Tt0e;t0i;. tji bue ,ajruvn; ypuie ,ajrtjzpjrermpwyr owrwum
rnon±mom;urq awł&y uoyetjzpowrwy;jri onEiypcwawmon?

±m0±m0m;rm; t z/rm ,i;w. t ouar;0r;a:umi;obm0on v , ,mvyuijci;tay:wi
wnrae&±wirub tpm/ xi;Ei a& t v/i; awmawmiuyrcae&orm;jzpoi zi t qy
ue;owrrm; t & aexi&ywn&erv , uay?

t c/aom±m0m;rm;rm puwn;uyi jye vnae&mc;rnt &yrm;o;om;a&mu&e oabmrw
:ub rvau;±mrsm; t e; ty;&awmxYye;a t mi;um tpm; tpmrm;Ouxm;jci;/ v#0upuci;
rm;puy;jci;jzi quvu&ioeaeivrrnqonar#m vicu;ji peipm;lae&p&e q;jzw
cuon?

t jcm;±m0m;rm;rmr jye vnae&mc;xm;rna'orm;o; 0;pmom;a&mu&cuavon; aemuyi;
wi ypn;yp, t c/u;ye, &evn;aumi;/ o;E ten;i , r v#0upuy;&evn;aumi;u;pm;
:un&e , i;w. rv±mrsm;o;wwwqwjyevm:uavon?

T t p&icpmwiazmjyxm;onr'r;rjzp&yrm;. 14 &mciee;on , i;w. rvau;±mrsm;twi;
o;r[wte;tem;wi ui;vnjrermpwyrsm;r zr;q;cc&jci;jzpon? , i;w;t m; aomi;ue;
orm;. Ze;onrm; o;r[w oyersm;u&umaxmuyorm; [pypccu&avon? oyersm;
rnonae&mwi&onuazmajm&etwu , i;wEi tw rom;p0irm;uy Eypun0;ye;jci;c
cu&on? jzp&y t awmrsm;rm;Y t r;or;rm;on r'r; t uic&y;aem u owjzwc&y;on?

r'r;uic&orm;on 1996 - 1997 cepvmuun;u t petzm;au;vu
a'orm;rwqi ue[e;irle, oajmi;a±ae&mc&cc&orm;xrjzpon? t vyt ui/
puy;pm;aomu&eajr, m&&&erv, uo;ji , i;w;t z i ray.wi&ioe&ywna&rm
t veyicucvayon? xa:umi t qyv, orm;rm;pm on1999 cEp :o*ww
uwn;u , i;w. v , , mrsm; t e;wi wi , rm;v#0uaqmu vyum puci;rm;u
apmi&i;aexi:u;y; xae&m o; v#0upm0m;cniyecn vycu&m Tjzp&yrm;rjzp
yurt ce t xyijzpon? eryl jrpur;eab;wav#muwi t &yom;ay;wm26
a, muEi tw vnvn&mazaeonppwyr aw&orwt rrm; t m;0i;xm;y;aemu
way&otm;v;uzr;q;vuum wrsm;ur;wi±con? ppom;rm;r v , orm;o;0;
uac:, vuum ±uEun0;ye;y;aemu &r;wyom;rm;rnonae&mwi&ovqon
u ajym:um;&e wpa, mu:y;wpa, mu ppaq;ar;jre;con? o;aom v , orm;rm;u
Tupuroa:umi;ajz:um;cuon? ppom;rm;u quvuppaq;ar;jre;&mwi
&uEuEypun0;ye;um wpa, mu:y;wpa, muaoq;on t xar;jre;cy;aemu
t avmi;rm;u eryl jrptwi;o; ypcccon? t r;or;Ep0;u , i;wEi tw Ep&uEi
Epnwia t miac:aqmiom;um t &m& t m;v;r 0i;0e;I r'r;u:i:u;y;aemu
aoewjiypowcuon? (jzp&y 97)

jzp&y t rm; t jym;wi t r;or;rm;on , i;w. rv±mrsm;o;jye&etwu awmi;qcu&mwi
t m%omyirm;rvn; pmjzia&xm;onom;vmcivurwuxway;con? Tvurwon
vn; , i;w;t m;r'r;usiowjzwc&a t mi umu , ay;jci;r&cay?

1998 cEp arvwi cvro;twi; t "rajmi;a±cc&on ±m0m;rm;on ±m t jyi bu
v , ui;rm;Y om;a&mu t vyvy&etwu erpe & ppt m%omyirm;xwi
ci;yc:uawmi;ccuon? ±m0m; 19 0;on cvr taemubu av;ri tum&
v , awmwiom;a&mu t vyvyui&etwu erpe & ppt m%omyirm;xr

cilyc:uwpc&&cov cvr& a'ocpppce;r wyr;Av]u;[epexrvn;cilyc:u
&&cy;aemu 1998 cEp arvrpwiI Zevtx tvyvyuiaep0 cv& 246 r
ppom;rm;a&mu&vmy; ta0;rael ypcwcon? ±móm;rm;wp0;wpa, mur rxre
b t m;v;on te;&awm x o!0iajy;c:uon? ppom;rm;on v , awm xwi acwr
&mazy;aemu xucmóm;con? twei, :umaom t cwi ppom;rm; trewu ,
xucmóm;y[, qum tr;or;wp0;Ei , i; . 0;av;jzpowon v , wrt0w
tpm;Eity, mvyrm; , y; ±moijye&etwu v , awmoijyevm c:uon? o!&mwi
, i;w;v , wo!a&muont cemyi ppom;rm;jyea&mu v my; , i;w;tm;ZR;q;vu
um 0;av;jzpotm; tao±uowc:uon? x tr;or;uvn; t0wtm;rm;q
c]wy; }urzerm;pm yirw&m;yu sium aemuq;wi wxY aoewjiypowc:uon?
x!aemuwi ppom;rm;on v , awmr xucmóm cvr o!quom;con? (jzp&y -
49)

jyevnae&mc:xm;c&on±móm;rm;t m; v , , mpuy&eoir [w &mazpm;aomu&etwu
x t &ya'ote;&ae&mróm; o! om;cilyon [xi&aomvn; Ttp&icpmwiy&onr'r;r
jzp&y 27 con t qy jyevnae&mc:xm;ona'ote;tem;0e;u;irm;wi jzpyucji;jzp
on? xjzp&yrm;wi trm;t m;zi tr;or;rm;on tyipujci;/ tpm&ijci;/ xi;aumuji;
oir [w a&cwjci;/ oir [w ap;vvnvna&mi;cjci;ponaelp0vyaeu;vyie;rm; vyaqmi
aecuwi zr;q;c&u&ji;jzpon?

ue;qmau;±mr ajymi;a±ae&mc:xm;c&o tou 16 EpEi 17 Ept0;o;&uao m
re;uav;Ep0;on irEiri0uce!a0;onEm;pm;u;uwpcY Em;aumi;ae-uon?
Av]u;oe;0i;0;aqmion cv& 55/ ppa:umi; 3 r t i t m; 50/ 60 ce&wywpwyr
, i;w;tm;awóm;y;ZR;q;con? t qywyon re;uav;Ep0;Ei , i;w;.Em; av;
aumi u pce;x o!v!Quac:aqmíom;y;aemu 6 &uEi 5 nwiatmic!yaEmixm;
um AvjzpoEi t jcm;t &m&rm;u re;uav;Ep0;ut}ur}ur r'r;yu:icon?
Em;av;aumiuvn; ppom;rm;uowpm;vu:uon? aemuw}ur ui;vn&e
om;uon t cewi t qyppwyon re;uav;Ep0;uac:om;y;aemu
awmwi;cya0;a0; wpa&ma&muont c]Y ppAvjzpo u
, i;w;Ep0;uaowjiypow&wyom;rm; u t reay;con? (jzp&y 111)

jyevnae&mc:xm;ona'orm;t wi; tr;or;rm;t m; r'r;u;ijci;

±móm;rm;t z j rermppwy. t re}rm;t wi;emcyu “vic”vrrn [xi jri , qz , jzpaom
jyevnae&mc:xm;ona'orm;t wi;wi r'r;r t jzptyurm;. 6 &mcie;jzpyucon [
qy,v;i ten;i,cusaeyvrrn? T t cuu r'r;u;iyu v;0jyp'%ay;rc&qjci;Ei
ywoul pptp;&wyrm;t z r'r;r u;l;ve&mwi “jyp'%" tpm;o;p&e t jcm;tac:ta0:
wpr& r; y i v i v;0rv tyont x pwc:v uc&ae-uonu jyoaeyon? o!jzpci;aumi
j rermppwpce;rm;Ei uyv;uwn&aeaom jyevnae&mc:xm;a&a'orm;& ajymi;a±c±m o
±móm;rm;t z r'r;u;ic&ji;uccEiryru i;rvmaeyon?

aemi uere;&m&jyevnae&mc:xm;ona'oY tou 16 Ept±, re;uav;wp0;
trwiwpa, muwn;&aecuwi etz Av]u;oe;aumEi , i;. wy om;rm;
trwi;o!0ia&muvmum aomua&awmi;uon? re;uav;wpa, mu

wn;&aea:umi;oom;ontcwi t qyppAvu0ixiy; t vyyir;lo\vu
 armi;rm; t &r;awmiwi;uucaeojzi EyE, ay;&eajmon? re;uav;vn; t ve
 a:umu±om;y; orEywwa:umi;ajyum , 0, 0au;au;yijii;qvuon? ppAv
 u tawm:umamir&ruci;apy; re;uav;rv, v, Eitavmay;rny ray:on
 t cY , i;. ypwaowizire;uav;ucevuy; "i\ ppwyuAv\u;ul ri;ro b;
 vm;" [ajyum yprn [cr;ajcmuon? x\aeumure;uav;uvuarmi;r uiy; tr
 twi;ce;x o\ '±wwwuqac:om;um t 0wt pm; tm;v;c\wci;y; aowjzi
 awmuav\muceI r'r;u:icon? x\aeu tyce;xwi&mazaraEmuum wpbw
 a±q\u;wpu;/ Epbwa±q\u;wpu;/ ai 45690 uyEi aqmi;wi;0wt aE;x n
 w\u , aqmiom;on? (jzp&y 74)

t wi; t "r t v y c i; apjci;

t wi; t "ray:wmxr;c i;jci;

t r\;or;rm;r'r;usicc&jci;uccEiryui;rvm&ont "u ta:umi;&i;wpcrm jrerm ppwyr
 twi;t "r ay:wm paqmi;aejci;a:umivn;jzpon? t x;ojziau;vuawme, a'or;rm;Y
 ±om;rm;u rvurae&t wi;t "ray:wmac:, um yreu;vnjci;rm;ojr [w ppqia&
 x;pprm;t wi;ppom;rm;twu axmuya&ypn;rm;u xry;ci;aejyon? a, b, s tm;jzi
 ppwyon a, mu;rm;uom paqmi;ac:, av&ayon? qvonrm ±mwp±m o\ppwy
 a&mu&vmyu ay:wm paqmi;c&rnup&raoma:umi a, mu;rm;on±mr xuaj;ww:u
 av&m a&muvm onppwytwu re;rom;rm;cn;ouou ccEipr;ui;rpm xm;pc&jci;
 jzpyon?

em;ve;au;±mo\ pptp&. ppwycv& 154/ ppa:umi; 5 r
 ppwywpwya&mu&vm&m ±m& a, mu;rm;tm;v;on twi;t:uy ay:wmqc
 &rnu p&raoma:umi xuaj; om;uy; tr\;or;rm;om ±mxwiue&pcuon?
 Av\u;au;mrion tou 14 Ept±, re;uav;wp0; trwi wpa, muwn;
 ueaeonu aw\om;y;aeu , i;. wyom;rm;u trtyibuwi ui;apmiae
 :u&e trej;vuon? x\aeu t qy re;uav;tm; tyce;x o\ '±www
 qac:om;y; ±uEu umr'r;u:icon? (jzp&y 171)

ay:wm paqmi;ac:aqmiom;ont cY vEiEpEic:l:umjriy; t r\;or;rm;rmvn; , i;w\cn;
 omue&pum rw&m;yusicc&ru ccEipr;ui;rpm ue&pcayon? r'r;rjzp&yrm;. 6 &mci
 Ee;on via, mu;rm;jzpor;rm;ta0;wia&mu&aey; jrermppwytwu ay:wm tjzp twi;
 t "rci;apcae&cer;rm;Y , i;w\ . Ze;onrm; r'r;usicc&jci;jzpon?

v, xY t vyvyaen tr\;or;o;0;&&mo\ ppom;rm;a&mu&vmum , i;w\ . vi
 om;rm;b , rm&onu ar;jre;on? , i;w\Ei twvurvm:ua:umi;/ trwivn;r&
 a:umi;/ vecon o;av;&uu etzppwyay:wmxr;&eac:aqmiom;y; jyera&mu
 vmao;a:umi;jzi tr\;or;rm;u jyevnajm:um;on? x t cwi wyr;wpa, muu
 re;uav;wp0;u te;&v , wwwwo\ac:om;umrw&m;yusiy;aeu ruEmwpji
 v;ye;ypwiywon t x ±uywcon? ue tr\;or;Ep0;onvn; t jcm;t &m&rm;r
 rw&m;yusijci;uc&y;aeu wze wyom;tm;v;qo\vajymi;ay;jci;cc&on? , i;w\
 acwc%&yem;ont cewpceY re;uav;wp0;on xuaj;c.? o\ aomvn;

v, u u t p y e m; a v m u t x o m v i a & m u c y; v, u u t j y i b u Y u i; a p m i a e o n
p p o m; r m; u a w i o m; u m x a e & m w i c u j c i; y p o w v u: u o n? (jz p & y 82)

az m j y x m; o n j z p & y r m; x r w p c w i r' r; u s i c & o t r; o r; o n r q; r t j z p a e x i a e & o j z p
o n? , i; . c i y e; j z p o o n e t z p p w y t w u a y: w m y i o m; p o u r a o r c i; ± u E u c c & o n?

t m y (e m r n & i; r [w] r' r; u s i r c & r E p E p c e i u t o u 30 t ±, & o. c i y e; t m c
o n a y: w m y i o m; y; a e m u p p o m; r m; r r a o r c i; ± u o w c o n? x i a: u m i
v, v y r n o r & b o i w p a, m u w n; u e c o n? 2001 c E p a z a z m O & v w i
w m c i v w t a j c p u c r & 359 r w y o m; 7 O; a & m u & v m u m o i t m; c O; u y y; a o e w
j z i y p r n [v n; c r; a j c m u: u o n? j r e r m p u m; r a j y m w w o n t w u a: u m i , i; w i
b m a w a j y m a e o n u v n; r o l a j c a x m u r o e r p r; j z p a e a o m a: u m i x u v n; r a j y; E i
j z p a e c o n? p p o m; r m; u o i t m; t y p v u O i; O e; l w p e m & r w i a t m i
r' r; u s i c u . ? (a e m u y i; w i u , O e & o m; c o n?) (jz p & y 135)

az m j y x m; o n t j z p t y: u r m; x r a e m u w p c w i p p t p; & . p p t & m & w p O; o n t r; o r;
w p a, m u t m; r' r; u s i u E i & e t w u , i; . c i y e; j z p o u o . w y E i o m; a v & m v u y i o m; & e
w r i w u m y i t r e j a y; c o n?

c r & 524 r A v i u; x e; O; o n w e [e; j y e v n a e & m c i x m; o n a' o w i; Y e e; a t;
(t r n & i; r [w] u j r i a w c o n? x i a e m u w i A v i u; x e; O; o n A v i u; w i a t m i
O; a q m i o n t i t m; 30 y w y z i u a' o w i; u i; v n & e t r e j a y; v u y;
w c e w n; r m y i e e; a t; . c i y e; j z p o p i; a r m i v t m; a c: v m & e ± m o j u; v; r i;
u t r e j a y; v u o n? A v i u; x e; O; u " ' a e i i i w y t w u E p & u a v m u r i; u i i
v r; j y v y c i; c i w , " [a j y m o n? e e; a t; . c i y e; j z p o t r w i r & o n t c i Y
A v i u; x e; a t; o n , i; w i t r o i o m; u m e e; a t; t m; t r x o i a c: o m; y;
" r i; w i t y c e; x r m b m a w & o v l o m; u n & a t m i " [a j y m a v o n? x i a e m u
t q y A v u e e; a t; . e z; u a o e w i z i c e u m i c r; a j c m u y; a e m u
t y c e; w i; o i q a c: o m; y; r e u 10 e m & r n a e 3 e m & t x r' r; u s i c o n? (jz p & y
152)

t r; o r; r m; o n u i; v n w y r m; E i " v r; j y r m; " t j z p v u y & o u o i a y: w m r m; t j z p v n;
t w i; t " r t c i; c c & & m x u m v t a w m t w i; p p o m; r m; u " a y m a w m q u r m; " t j z p v n;
y r e t o j y c u o n? T t p & i c p m w i a z m j y x m; o n r' r; r t j z p t y u 9 c o n t q y t r;
o r; r m; p p t p; & w y r m; t w u a y: w m o i r [w v r; j y t j z p t w i; t " r c i; a p c & a o m t c e w i
j z p y m; c y i o n?

o E i o i t p u w i E p a, m u i r i r 2 r i t u m l o w i v, a w m E i 1 r i t u m a e & m o i
t a & m u w i e t z w y z i r m; E i r a r i m v i b a w i v u & o n? w y r; j z p o u , i; w i t m;
a r; c e; w p c E p c a r; y; a e m u v r; j y w p a, m u v t y a: u m i; o r t m; a c: x m; r n
j z p a: u m i; E i t p u j z p o t m; t r i y e y; r o m; p u j y e v n a j y m j y y [a j y m q o n?
x i a e m u , i; w y z i o n e, p e e, z m; & v r a e a w m o n ± m r m; u q u v u
& m a z c: u o n? v r a e a w m o n ± m w p ± m o i n b u a & m u o m; o n t c i w i A v i u;
a t m i c i u v r & o n t r w p v; Y , i; E i t w t y & e o r t m; t w i; t " r a j y m q y;

r'r;usi&e;u;pm;awmon? oru cc&e i;u;pm;aom t c; aoewEiypn [
cr;ajcmu;y; ortm; arajrmve;y;wiatmi jyi;xepm±uywum qyirquiv;u
twi;ce;x o; '±wwuqac:om;on? wpEp/ o;a&wulry;ci t0wtpm;rm;
uc|w&Ei rc|wyu ypown [twi;t:uy ci;apon? ortz ia^u;±rwy;
a±;c; ,&er&awmb rw&m;iyusicvu&awmon? ue[e;ir|orjyer e,y,
wciv;u ui;vnvnaeonav;&uv;v;wi nwi;yi rw&m;iyusicc&on?
(jzp&y 65)

t wi; t "r t v y c i; ap r y o³ne r m;

v|t ci ta&; t p&icpm t r m; t j y m; wi us , us , jye|jye|azm j y x m; on t wi; yi jrermppwy
on t vyt r; r; wici; ap&e twu vyt m; cray; bac: , t o; y jci; u t x; o zi au; v u
a'or m; Y quv u y v y a e q j z p o n? ci; apae u t v y r m; r m v r; azmu jci; / ppwywe; v m;
r m; a q m u v y jci; Ei oe&i; a&; v y jci; / v r; r m; ap m i c i; jci; ±muap m i c i; jci; Ei ppwy yi
puy; a&; v y i e; r m; wi v y u i c i; jci; w j z p o n?

T t p&icpm w i a z m j y x m; on r' r; r t j z p t y u 5 con t r; or; r m; t m; ppwy twu x u
o|aom v y i e; r m; u t wi; t: u y ci; apae p 0 t c e w i j z p y m; c i c i; j z p y o n? x t j z p t y u r m;
xwi ppt p; &. cr& 332 Ei cr& 520 w r v r; azmu&e twu 9 & u 10 & u: um t "r
ac: , ci; apcc&o t r; or; 40 . 2001 cEp {y v u t j z p t y u v n; y 0 i y o n? n b u r m;
wi , i; w u t r; o m; r m; E i o; j c m; p c x m; o n? x l a e m u w i p p o m; r m; r w p 0; c i; p u a o e w
j z i a w u m a ±; x w y; r' r; u s i j c i; u c c: u & o n?

2001 cEp ar v u pp t p; &. ppwypce; wpcw i j z p y u c o n t j z p t y u r m -

pce; wi; & A [u i; ±; oe&i; a&; v y & e t w u ppwypce; o|vma&mu&e a'ocwyr;
jz p o u e r u w a u; ± m r t r; or; 15 0; w u t r e l a y; c o n? pce; o| t r; or; 15
a , m u a & m u & v m o n t c; Y A v } u; j z p o u t r; or; 14 a , m u t m; t j c m; p p A v r m;
. t y c e; r m; u o e & i; a&; v y & e w m 0 e a y; v u y; , i; . t y c e; u o e & i; a&; v y & e o r
u t r e l a y; c o n? o e & i; a&; p v y & e t w u t c e; w i; o|0 i v u o n E i p p A v
w p a , m u u o r a e m u o|v u v m u m t c e; w c; u y w v u o n? , i; u o r t m; v r;
q v u & m w i o r u " ' r m u r u A v } u; r' r; u s i a e y w , " [[p a t m v u o n?
(jzp&y 147)

ppwy ppaq;a&; *w r m;

aom i; u e; o r m; . v y & m; r u a p m i: u n & e t w u [q a o m v n; t c e t a u m u r m; u x i o v
aum u , E i & e t w u & n ±, u m v r; r m; w a v m u w i p p w y r z i v p x m; o n t r w r; p p a q;
*a&; *w r m; o n v n; w p ± m E i w p ± m c &; o m; v m: u o n t r; or; r m; E i y w o u l p p t p; & w y*
r m; t w u t c i t a &; & , a e a p y o n?

*T t p&icpm w i a z m j y x m; o n t j z p t y u 5 con t r; or; r m; ppwy p p a q; a&; *w r m; Y*
*w m; q; p p a q; c & c e r m; w i j z p y m; c y o n? a t m u a z m j y j t j z p t y u o n (2001 : o *w v Y)*
*o v i j r p j z w u; o n w m p e w w m; & A [p p a q; a&; *w w i j z p y m; c o n?*

cr& 225 r wyom;rm;u ±m om;rm;yvmon ypn;yp,rm;u&mazum ar;jre;aep0
 wi ±m om;rm;t m;v;t xrt r;or; 3 a, muu Av}u; jriviua±;xwum o;jcm;
 wpae&m o;ac:aqm iom;y;aem u ,i;w;uppaq;ar;jre;con? ppom;wp0;u ueum;
 arm i;orm;u “'re;r o;a, muuppaq;p&maw&v! 'rmc%xm;zi;w t xuv}u;
 qut re&w,/ t 'y;r ow;uiyevwr, ” [ajym;y;aem u ,i;w;Ei t jcm;±m om;
 rm;t m;v;u u, vr;u, quom;u&e t relay;con? ppAvwpa, muu
 tr;or;rm;t m; o;tyce;wi;o; wp}urv;iwpa, mupac: , umr'r;u:icon?
 tr;or;o;a, muv;u r'r;usi;y;cewi o.i, om;wynrm;u tr;or;rm;t m;
 r'r;usiapcon? aemuq;wi ppaq;a&*wYwm0e, xm;owyom; 21 a, muv;r
 ,i;w;t m;r'r;usicuavon? (jzp&y 157)

v n v n o m;vnae o n u i;v n w y z i r m; - w n 0 e c r u i;r a e j c i;

&r;jyn t wi;t ajcpu x m;on jrermppwy wy&i;rm;t a&t wurm;jym;vmonEi t r!
 (e'je;wi:uny) au;vua'orm;wi awmvea&t zirm;. cat mi;&mae&mrm;u araEm u
 &maz&ejze}u x m;on ppwy v n u i;rm;. t a&t wu o n v n; yrrm;jym;vmayon?

r'r;r t r m;pon jzpy:uco nae&mEiwpirle, wn;&wypce;rm;wi t ajcpu x m;on wy
 &i;rm;r w y z i r m;u u l;vecjci;jzpaomvn; w y z i r m;on t r v v y i ,i;w}. t ajcupce;
 rm;eia0;umaoma'orm;wi u i;v n o m;vmaeav&y}on? xjyi jzp&y t awmrsm;rm;
 (ten;q; jzp&y 30) on t jcm;irle, rm;wiwyc x m;onwy&i;rm;rwyzirm;u u l;vecu
 jci;jzpy; t c}qy u jrermEii. t jcm;a'orm;wi t ajcpu o nwy&i;rm;rwyzirm;yiy}oi
 ayon?

jyp'%u i;vwci&&a e o n q j c i;u x n o i;rp0;pm;onwia t mi/ w y z i r m;u ,i;w}. t ajc
 pupce;rm;ra0;um o nae&mrm;o;u i;v n &eapvwaejci;onyi u i;vnaep0u l;vec
 onjyprsm;t wu u l;veorm;t m;jyev n&maz&ejzpeiacu en;y;om;apa:umi;x i&m;
 aey}on?

r ' r ;u s i c & y ;v w a j r m u v n o r m ;

T tce;. t "u&n±, c}urm r'r;usicvu&orm;tay:wi viyi;q i&m t :ur;zura:umi
 t }u;t u s , xcur&ca:umi;uazm xw jy&ejzpy;/ Ten;t m;zi u l;veorm;u t jreq;
 w&m;pqEirnaqmi±urrm;jyvy&eEi aem u xyT t rrm;rjzpay:at miwm;q;&e v t y
 aea:umi;/ xjyiv n; r'r;usic&y;vwajrm u v m o r m ;t w u o i a v m o n t u m t u ,
 t u t n r m ;ay;&ev t yaea:umi;w}u ay:vix i&m;a t mijyo&ejzpy}on?

±y y i ;q i & m u e ;r n a & ;x c u r r m ;

T t p&icpmwiy&on t jzpt y;u t r m;pEiywou l ±yyi;q i&m t c u t v u t a o ;pw
 rm;u r&aomvn; t r tawmrsm;rm;wi r'r;usicc&orm;on t ci;jzpy m;ceY jyi;jyi;
 xexexcuemusic&onrm xi&m;y}on? t r tawmrsm;rm;wi jzpy:u;y;om;ceYawi&&

onr'r;usicc&orm;rm owaraeon uaw&y; ten;q;trEpcwiqv;i r'r;usicc&o
on vryiravm uEiawmay? xtrxrwpawi tr;or;on u, 0e 7 v&aep0 typz
r'r;usicc&y;aemu aeirapci rmyi r;zm;c&ayon?

zm;em;y;rvyEir&m;Eijzpaee;v (trn&i;r[w) on awmx&wtrav;wpv;
wi wpa, muwn;ueaecon? oon rwwyr&yEi vr;ravm uEiavmu
atmiyi r;a0ae.? ac;i;rmvn; trwr;uucay; Or;vn;tji;t xeom;aem
ao;rm;'va[moeaeojzi uav;yuuawmrn[oaw;vuron? aemu xyav;
&uww wa, muwn;jzpaey; aemuq;wi ee;von u, 0e 7 vjiyi uav;
r;zm;con? (jzp&y 160)

y;contce;wiazmycontwi;yi jzp&y 11 cY re;uav;o[r[w tr;or;rm;on aq;
±wiuocu&on? xtrxr jzp&ywpcwn;Yomv;i xcuemusipm;c&rtao;pw t;cu
tvu&&cy; ,i;rm vit*ji;ji;xexexcuyup;c&ontou 5 Ept±, re;uav;.
tjzpt;uizpon? jzp&yrm;wi aq;±wuuo&onumvr;on 10 &utx&u;y;
jzp&ywpcwi um, u&i tr;or;on aq;±o[i;urwiatmiwua&muuoc&on? jzp&y
wpcwiqyu aq;±wuuopm;&won 17000 uyt xueu;cy; xueu;pm;&wuvn;
um, u&i tr;or;u, wiyi ay;acc&yion?

jzp&y 5 cwi aq;±wiuorr&caomvn; vEic;umemru;e;jzpc&a;umi;azmyc;ur;rm;&cy
on?

jzp&ywpcwiom jrermppom; 7 a, mur typvur'r;usicc&otr;or;onu, 0e&&c
a;umi; xwazmajym;um;r&cyion?

pw yi;qiμe;rm&;xc urrm;

Ttp&icpma&;om;&elyvyconaw;qar;jre;rr;on um, u&i tr;or;rm;aw;ucpm;c
&aompwyi;cpm;rr;u twi;usavvmazmxwEi&etwu tceumvwawmi;ve;ae
ojzi r'r;usicc&orm;. pwyi;qi&m t ajc taersm;Eiywouon tao;pw t;cu tvu
rm;v tyae;ion?

r'r;usicc&y;aemu vwajrmuvmorm;cpm;&on ±yyi;qi&ma&m*vu%orm;on pwyi;
qi&m t ajc taersm;Eiquyr&a;a;umi;x i&m;yion? Oyrmtm;ji tyaymji;/ pm;ci
aomucipwui;rji;/ u, tav;ceui;Ei tm;tiuece;jci;pojizpcua;umi; tr;
or;trm;uyiajym;um;cuyion?

tcd tr;or;rm;u "pw"mwu;ji;"/ "Or;en;jci;"/ "a;umuvejci;" w;ucpm;&a;umi;ji
ajmyj;uon? tr;or;wp0;u "urpwxrm jzpy;cwawu jyp0;pm;rw t;awi; urEv;
aw t&r;uwevmw, ? ur a, m um;aw tm;v;ua;umuw," [ajmyion (jzp&y 1)?
aemu tr;or;wp0;Eiywoul "jzpy;ucy;waemuyi;rm o[m wpa, muwn;y tra
aeawmw, / b, o;urvn;raw;ci;b; b, oe;rvn;pum;rajm;ci;b;" [o&&on (jzp&y
119)?

r'r;usic&y;aemuvwajrmuvmotrsm;pon ,i;wltm;r'r;usi)ucorrm;uzr;q;±wiv
on qErsm;&uyon? ±;wiw&m;pqrr&ontwu tve "a'lo"xucra:umi; tr&;or;
wp0;uajymjycon?

wcewn;rmyi r'r;usicc;y;vwajrmuvmorrm;on ,i;wijzpy;uconrsm;Eiywoul
tveyi "&u" ra:umi;ajymjycuay&m &y±mvr t0e;t0i;wiacwpm;aeon viuujm;rEi
ywouontjrioabmxm;Eia0zeajmqrrsm;&aejci;a:umijzpa:umi;x i&m;aeyon?
(a&vmrntce; "Epxyur;tjyp'%c&jci;" u:uny?)

r'r;usic&y;ue&porm;t m; t)uay;vr;!eonaqmi±urr&;&ca:umi;ur rnontjzp
tyuwiriraw/&&ay? &∨tjzptyurrm;t&/ r'r;usic&y;ue&porm;twu tx;ojzi
&y±mvr t0e;t0i;r a0zeajmqrrsm;uvuaw/cpm;ae&orrm;twu xolaqmi±uay;&e
ta&wju;v tyae:umi;x i&m;yon?

Epvey;cewia tmit)ur)urr'r;t usicc&aom tr&;or;wp0; (jzp&y 51) pwZa0'em
on jzpm;c&jci;u r'r;usic&ra:umitr&;orrm;uawfu&on pwyi;q i&m'%&m'%
curnr)u;rm;onqjci;u jyoaeyon? aemu tr&;or;wp0;rm r'r;usic&y;aemu (jzp&y
76) be;pom;cy; o . uav;i , av;upeypom;con?

rom;pEi vrt0e;t0i;- unaxmuyr

tjzptyurrm;. 21 &mciEe;wi r'r;usicc&o.rom;pEi &y±mv)u;rm;on trupEi
ywoul ppwytm%omyirsm;xol owi;ay;yicuaa:umi;azmjy;yjzpon? T tcuu
jzp&ytrsm;tjym;wi um , u&i.rom;pEi &y±mvr t0e;t0i;wr r'r;usic&oburael
w&m;Oya' twi;jzpa&e unaqmi±ucua:umi;jyoaeyon?

xijyi tjzptyu tay:rom;prweijyeyt;cutvurrm;uazmjyxm;on jzp&y 10 cwwi
um , u&i tay:Y , i;wlt. ciye;a , mum;/ rom;prsm;u unazmi;zrrrm;&ca:umi; aw&y
on? , i;wltaejzi um , u&i tay: "axmuctm;ay;jci;" / em;vnoabmayujci;"rm;&y;
"tjyprwi"cu y?

o&mwi jzp&ytrsm;pwi um , u&irm;on , i;wlt. tjzptyua:umi rom;pEi &y±m
t0i;t0i;r u&jypwic&jci;rm;treyi&cuon uowy&rnjzpyon?

Epxyur;jyp'%c&jci;- r'r;usic&y;aemu jypwic&jci;Ei jii;y , c&jci;

jzp&yocwi r'r;usic&y;aemu tr&;orrm;on , i;wlt.cpo&n;pm; oir[w vi
a , mum;. tjypwiajmqjci;cc&on? tr&;or;wp0;rm r'r;usic&y;aemuyi;wi or.
cpou appya:umi;vr;xm;jci;uzi uor;vu y; vma&muaw/qjci;vn;r&awmay? tjcm;
tr&;or;wp0;rm "Arm xm;&pcwaumir" [via , mum;. apmum;ajmqjci;cc&on?

tx;wvnp;&rz , aumi;von jzp&ywpcY tr&;or;wp0;rmvn; r'r;usic&y;aemu
wivia , mum;. &uEujci;uyj cc&a:umi;avvmaw;&&on?

“(r'r;usic&y;waemuyi;) usra, musm; jyevmwtc; tu; ta:umi; u jyeajmijyc
 yw, ? t'rm oupwq;y; usr u a'owj;u;e;uawmwm; cvrw&m; usicc&v;
 ure; usra, musm;&, / uav;aw&, trm tci;ci; quqa&t&r;uq;om;c&
 y; a, musm;ua&m uav;awuy; uru “t&yur æ oy -- cia&i awmxrm
 w wpv;x;ay;xm;r, ? t'rm om;--ac” qwmr;aw aelwi;ajymae:uw, ? t v
 ajymwmaw usr t&r;pwxcuw, / aemuq; b, vrquy; on;rcEiawmb usr
 a, musm;e;um&i;cyw, ? aemuyi; uav;awelawiciv;truom;ayr, uav;aw
 u ‘t&yur æ ei i;wtarr[wb;? i;wqb, awmrrvmcel’ v;ajym; Eixw
 :uyw, ? usra, musm;uvn; ‘u, u, u rxe;or;b wjcm;a, musm;elazmuyje
 w, ? ei i;re;r r[wawmb;? ccuci; truxuom;”q;y; armi;xwcyw, ?
 aemuq;awmusrvn; xi;Eiiuvmz; q;jzw c&yw, ?” (jzp&y 3)

aemu; jzp&ywpcwi vr;ay;Y ppom;wp0; . r'r;usijci;ucc&aomaumi;owp0;
 tm; or. rom;pu z, u0xm;con?

usr& rom;pu urtay: em;vnrray;cub;? az;rrvn; r&cb;? owia&m usr
 oi, ci;awuy; uru t xitjriao;woabmr;e; tzurvy;uawmb;? urtz;
 tx;u;ejpy; t&r;y pwqi;&c&w, ? t'tceu 1991 cEp/ usr ri;qw
 txuwe;ausmi;rm 10 we;wuaewtcey; pmar;yajze;ur rw&m;yu;icc&
 awm pwnpnpe; usr pmar;yrajzpcawmy;b;? 'jzp&yq;u usr& b0wuvr;aw
 tm;v;u;zizuyvuwmyy; (jzpp0 1)

rupraom tou 12 Ep t&, tr;or;av;rm b&m;om;&mrtiyewi ppom;
 wp0; . r'r;usijci;cc&y; / pwyi;qi&mrm; xcucon? xo; cc&aom tqyre;uav;tm;
 yw0e;usi u jypwiajmqcyeon?

&om; tawmrm;rm;ur Tjzp&yEiywoul v;u;ry;b we[e; o; jyevm on
 ee;awmi; uom t jypwi ajmqcuy;on? (jzpp0 144)

t x uazmijy; jzp&yrm; u;unv;i , i;yw0e;usi toi;t0i;wi a, musm; re;r
 uijm;rtay: Erc;quqae;ujci;on r'r;usic&orm;twutveq;0;y;/ xo; Erc;
 quqaerrm;tm; tjreq;ijyiajmi;vyp&e v tyaea:umi; t xit&m;awjri&ayon?

xo; w&m;rrwon qjcm;quqrrm;&aomvn; tm;wuz, tjzpaw/&Eion
 jzp&ywpcwi um, u&i tr;or;jzpoon yw0e;usira0zeztm;ay;jci;rm;uaw/&aom
 vn; , i;w;uwe;jyeici;on orEi rom;ptwut u; r&Ei [, qo;zi tm;v;u Oayum
 yEicon? tqy;jzp&y (135) Y r'r;usic&aomtr;or;on u, 0e&vmcon? xo;
 u, 0e&aea:umi;o&om;uaomtcwi 0e;usit0i;t0i;r u&jypwiji;u a&mi&m;Ei
 &etwu traxmi;yvu&e ±om;rm;u 0i;0e;wuwe;cuon? ortaezi u, vu
 roepr;owp0;/ 'uonwp0;jzpy; , citraxmiEivn; om;wpa, mu&cojzpaom
 vn; yw0e;usiua0zeztm;ay;rrm;u wi;cum xyrtraxmirybrq;rtjzpom aec
 on? oru “usrw;b0 tawmcucr, qwmawmoyw, ? 'ayr, usruav;uvn;
 yax;erxm;ci;b;? wcl;a, musm;aw[m re;rawucpayr, yvmwom;or;awuawm rcp
 b;?wu, v;ur traxmiyr, q&i um&i;z;uawmcuvrr, ” [&i;jycon? (jzp&y 135)

r'r;u:ic&y;aemu ae&najymi;a&l&jci;

azn;jyxm;ontjzptyur;m;teu jzp&y 22 c (13 &mciee;) wi tr&;or;m;on
r'r;u:ic&y;aemu;Y rom;pEijzap/ rom;pryjbzap xi;Eiiolom;a&mu&ajymi;
aexicuon?

tc&jzpyr;m;wi xyrapmum;c&rnu p;&rojzi r'r;u:ic&y;aemu cuciyi
tjcm;wpae&mol a&ajymi;om;cuon? jzp&ywpcwi tou18Ept&, tr&;or;t m;
a&ajymi;xucm;om;&e &mo)u;jzpou wuwe;con?

*or. vica&;twup;&raoma:umi "eirm wjcm;aep&mae&m&&i om;yae;vm;?
ajymi;yae;v&r, q&i vn; ajymi;apciw,? 'ppom;awe; xyy;raw;wmaumi;
r," [ajymi;on? xla:umi ee;, 0vn; nbua&muvi tjcm;aqr;wpa, mu
. trY om;tyc.? orbrm;u vn; ee;, 0. v&la&;twu p;&ruon? olaom
vn; xyrwe;jerrm;jzpay:vmrnu p;&raoma:umi ppwyutrwouay? jye;v
vm;y; 10 &ut:umwi ee;, 0. taru olu xi;Eiibuolac:vmcyon? (jzp&y
133)*

tc&jzppOr;m;wi tr&;or;m;on wpv olr[w Epv olr[w ce;re;lr&aom
umv tawm twi; xi;Eiibuol a&ajymi;xucm;om;cuon?

xi;Eiwi tuntu, / tuntu;rji;

&r;jynEi xpyaeonxi;e,pywi u&i/ u&ie(u, m;)jynr;m;& xijrerm;py
r;m;wiuol w&m;Oizivpxm;aom'uonpce;r;m; r&ay? xi;Eii. vu&r0;t&
wuyzpy;m;jci;aumixuaj;vmaom ", m, t;trpeypvmorm;" uomv;i totrw
yxm;y; jrermptp&r &r;jyntwi; aomi;ue;ode;usia&prc;ur;m;aqmi±u&mY t&y
om;r;m;tay: t:ur;zuEypuae;ci;aumixuaj;vm:uorm;ur totrwryy? xla:umi
1996 cEpwi &r;jyntv, yi;Y twi;tuyau&;&ajymi;a&c-u&y;aemu;Y xi;Eiibu
ol xuaj;c&o/ ce;re;ajcwpo;e;cc&rn &r;'uonr;m;rm Eiium una&;tzt;n;
r;m;. tumtu, ay;rEi vom;csi;pmemaomunaxmuyrr;m;u r&&uay? r;m;aomtm;ji
w&m;r0iajymi;a&tvyorm;r;m;tjzp tvytui&mazu&ontajc;taeo! a&mu&c&um
tajccvtysur;m;jzpon aexipm;aomu&upr;m;wi tcutcu;rm;pm ouaw;u&
on? tx;ojzi tr&;or;m;Ei uav;i, r;m;on vueu;a&mi;pm;c&jci;Ei tEiui
tjrwxcw&jci;r;m;Ei ouaw;u&ayon?

&r;jynr xi;Eiibuolxuaj;vmon'uonr;m;on Eypun0;ye;c&rnu
treyp;&ra:umu&ae;u&jci;a:umi ,i;w;t m; 'uontjzpowrwapmia&muay;oi
a:umi;u ,ctp&icpmwiy0iaomjzppOr;m;u &i;vi;pmjyoaeon? viyi;qi&m t:ur;
zurrm;cc&aom tr&;or;m;Ei uav;i, r;m;uyiv;i tumtu, Ei unaxmuyray;
&ejii;y, ae;ci;rmOr;en;z, aumi;vayon?

r'r;u:ic&y;aemu 2001cEp :o*wwwi xi;Eiio|xuaj;cum/ aemuEpv
t:umwi Ttp&icpmtwuaw;qar;jre;co tr&;or;wp0;. atmuazmjyijzp&y

on xi;Eiia&mu&r;tr&;or;'uontc&iqiae&on ccEipr;ui;raom t ajc
taeq;rm;u xi[yaeon? tou16 Ept&, ee;v(trn&i;r[w)on u ,0e 7
v&p0wi r'r;usic c&on? ppom;q,0;u or. via,mum;a&wiyi
typvuhyusici;jzpon? or. a,mum;t m; ta0;wpae&m ojac:aqmiom;um
owypcon? or wp0;wn;ueп aemu vrapbuav;ar;zm;con? ortm;
aqr&;om;ci;t c&uaw&cy;aemu xi;Eiibu o! twwxuajy;cuon?

*“ortm; awiqar;jre;contcewi or. uav;on 2 vom;t&, om &ao;y;
zm;emv;u&on? or.Eup l uav;rm0r;uuaey;/ uav;u E0,wu&e
twuvn; air& t vyxuvy&e t m;en;ve;aeon aq;ce;om; jy&etwu
vr;p&wr&on t jyil ay;acp&m aq;z;vn; r&ay?” (jzpp0 160)*

xi;Eiiajrmuyi;& varm;cwpcwi w&m;r0i t vyvyuia&u;y; or uo;yi'uonrm;
jzp:uon aqr&;om;ci;rm;u ee;v t m; uncon? o!aomvn; ,i;w&axiaomwi ,rm
puci;twi;y;owaq;jze;aomum;rm; aq;twi t cyvyonae&m t ewijzpon? x o!
t qytawmuizpapon "mwypn;rm;Ei e;uypmaec&o;zi ee;v . ue;rma&c&; i;vm;y;
aq;&wuc&on? aq;&q;i;y;ontc q ortm; ue;rma&q i&m ta&ay:unaxmuyrrm;
ay;&etwu SWAN (&r;tr&;or;a&&mquo ,y;ayi;aqmi&ua&;toi;)u om;a&mu
quo,ontcY or t vyvyuionvarmcu xi;ppom;rm;u0ia&mu&mazum w&m;
r0iajymi;a&vmorm; t m; vuvzr;q;jci;aumi t jcm;ae&mwpco! xuajy;om;ca:umi;
o&c&on?

E i x w c & r . t E & m ,

&r;jyntwi; rw&m;jyusiapmum;cc&o;zi xuajy;vmc&o tr&;or;rm;Ei uav;
i ,rm; t m; xi;Eiiu t um t u ,ay;&ejii;y ,jci;rm ,i;w u ae&y o! t cera&jyev n
yaqmiEion [l t "ym ,&ayon? xi;t m%myirm;on y;conEpten;i ,twi;
w&m;r0i t vyorm;rm; t m; t }u;t u s , vuvzr;q;c&m 'uonrm;onvn; zr;q;cc
&y; e ,pya'o oijyey/cc&&omru/ &ze&cY wpzuEii&jrerm t m%myirm; . v uwi;o!
wu&u tyEcji;rm;yi&cyon?

v i yi;q i&m t :ur;zurcc&orm; t wurmr ,i;w i t ay:x u o!Eypu n0;ye;cr rm;
u l ;vecon e*&r v jrermpp t m%myirm; . v uwi;o! j yev na&mu&om;a t mi vajymi;
ay; t ycvu&ci;yizpon?

T t p&icpmwiy&on x o!aomjzp&ywpcu:uny u 1996 cEpwia u s;&mr m;
ajymi;a&c&o;zi xi;Eiibu o!xuajy;co tr&;or;av;0;on 1998 cEpwi xi;
t m%myirm;u ci;r i r l & w&m;r0i t vyorm;rm; t m; zr;q;jyey&mY ,i;w av;0;onvn;
&r;jyno! j yevnyaqmi jci;cc&on? vr;c&wi aqr&;om;ci;rm;Ei u umom;cy;aemu
4i;w on xi;e ,pybu o j y eom;um aqr&;om;ci;rm; t m;&maz&e p0;pm;q;jzw x m;
:uon? o!aomvn; xc&p0 t wi;ryi ppwyppaq;a&*wwpc t a&muY pp t p.&
wyzrm; . r'r;usijci; n0;ye;Eypujci;Ei owjzwjci;ccu&on?

,i;w|on ueum;ji r;ervmcu&m ovijrpjzwy;ontcY ppom;rm;u tr|
or;rm;um;ay:rqi;u&etrelay;yaemu 'ibm t m; ri;wo|quarmi;om;&Ei
tr|or;rm;t m; aemuyi;wivway;vurn [ajymcon? Ep&u t:umwi xpce;r
ppom;wp0; ri;wo| &um0, &evmy;aemu x tr|or;rm;Eiou|r;o wp0;t m;
x tr|or;rm;uzr;q;clyaEmivuonae|Yyi r'r;usicc&a:umi;/ aemu wpaelwi
,i;w|. &iom;rm; v;jzwc&a:umi;/ x|aemu ,i;w|t m;v; towcc&y; aemu
tavmi;rm;t m; jryvvu;y;jzpa:umi; zi [xwazmajymjycon? (jzpp0 48)

viyi;qi&m t:ur;zurt E&m , on jrermbujcr;e , pya'owi omjzpay;aejci;
r [way? 1999 cEp Zvivwi ci;ric&iajrmuyi;r jrer mEiibuol jye vnyaqmic&o
&r;tr|or; 11 0;t m; xi;ppt&m&wp0;u viyi;qi&m rawmrw&m; hyusicon?
tr|or;Ep0;u r'r;rji wicuzi&ejul;pm;caomvn;/ ay;aomai uomvuc, &e
twi;t:uycr;ajcmucon? tqy xi;t&m&rm t vyae&majymi;a&jci;Ei axmuya:u;
jzwawmujci;u om cc&on?

E i i w u m & m Z 0 w r j z p o n v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u r

r'r;hyuiron tr|or;rm;.um , ajEEi *%oumu xcuapmum;ji;jzpon [
tp0tvmwv&mu v; ziqowrwcuon? t:ur;zuont tytrwp&y t jzp r , qc
:uay? olaomvn; vueuuiyÉyujzpy;m;p0twi; tr|or;rm;uaw&u&on xcu
epemrrr;m;Eiywoul ta& , vyaqmirtyi;wi ta&y|onw;wurr;m;u y;con q ,
pEp twi; jriaw&c&ayon? tus , jye;q;aom wwuajymi;vrrm viyi;qi&m t:ur;zu
rt m; Eiiwum&mZ0wrwpct jzp owrrwvujci;yijzpon? , ci , *qvyyanaxmip Ei
&Or'Eii wwijzpy;m;caom &mZ0wrci;rm;t m; uiw , ajz&i;&ezpn;caom w&m;&rm;
u v n ; r'r;usijci;on vlobm0w&m; tay:u|;veaom&mZ0wr [wwus x noi;
jyIme;con? &Or'Eii&mZ0wrr;m;qi&mEiiwumw&m;& . Oya'rm;wiv n ; r'r;hyu:ijci;/
jynweqm t jzpor;oi;jci;/ :ur;wr;pmapmum;ji;yo³/₄met m;v;w|on *eAm oabmw
ncu . q;jzwc&u ty' 3 Ei aemuquwpmcltytyi; 2 w|t m; azmuzujci;yi jzpa:umi;
&i;vi;azmyxm;on? w&m;&Epcpv;u viyi;qi&m t:ur;zurpqc&ur;m;Ei/ x t:ur;
zurrm;Eiywoul t jyp&a:umi;aw&&ow&m;cr;m;on &mZ0wrr;m; u|;vecor;m;
jzpa:umi; ziqxwjyec&mwi x&mZ0wrr;m;on -

- r'r;usijci;/ u|ejyji;/ n0;ye;Eypujci;w|t m;ji vlobm0w&m; tay:u|;veon
&mZ0wrr;m;/
- v|*%oumxcuapaom r'r;usijci;/ Eypun0;yejci; / &upu&r;um;ji; ty|t0i
Oya'Ei ppjzpy;m;p0wi v uem&rnpn;ur;rm;t m; cl;azmur/
- vr|;wpcv;olr [w tpwtyi;wpct m; zuq;&e [aom o;oe&n& , cuji
u|;veaom r'r;usijci;/ viyi;qi&m t:ur;zujci;en;rm;t m;ji vr|;w;owjzwr/
ponw|y|oi on?

t qy w&m;& t wu jyXme;caomOya'rm;on a&m r t jynjynqi&m &mZ0wr
w&m;& Oya' (a&mrOya') (the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court - the Rome
Statute) u t ajccumjyXme;cji;jzpy; vr|;w;owjzwr/ vlobm0w&m; tay: u|;veaom
&mZ0wr/ pp&mZ0wr/ &upu:ur;ulwaom &mZ0wr ponw|tay: p&iyici y&ayon?

r'r;usijci;Ei t jcm;aomviyi;qi&m t:ur;zuji;rm;on v\o b m0w&m; tay:u\;ve
aom&mZ0wrrrm;Ei pp&mZ0wrrrm;wi t\u;0ionvy&ym;yijzpa:umi;ziqum Eii
wumv\ t0e; t0i; twu p;&rz , &m&mZ0wr\ u;rm;jzpon [a&mrOya'wi &i;vi;pm
azmijxm;ayon?⁹

a&mrOya'u 2002cEp Zviv 1 &uae\wi pwiu\io;rnjzpon? w&m;& t m; e , omve
Eii on [w*r\wi xm;&rnjzpy; 2003 cEpwi pwizivpEiz , &y\on? w&m;& t m;
, ci , *qvijynaxmipEi&0r'Eiiqi&m Eiiwumc&rm; (ICTY Ei ICTR) . Oya'
oyqi&ma&qyrm; t wi; a&qzpn;rn jzpon?

t qy\w&m;& . w&m;p&iyici on aemua:umi;iyet u\;oua&murr&ay? Oya'
pwi t ou0ion t ceaemuyi;u\;veaom &mZ0wrrrm;uom p&iEion? a&mrOya' .
t z0ir [waomEiiwi rci;jzpy;cv\iaomvn;aumi; / t z0ir [waomEiir Eiiom;
wp0;u u\;vecv\iaomvn;aumi; w&m;& t aejzi 4i; .p&iyiciu x trrm;wivn;
u\io;Eiz , &on? a&mrOya' t z0ir [waomEiirm; t aejzivn; w&m;& . w&m;p&iyi
ci t m; jzpv m on t ajc taersm; tay:rwny; vucEiz , &on? t qyEiion t z0i
Eii [wonjzpap/ r [wonjzpap (u v or*)v\c a&aumipu !e:um;y\ u w&m;& t aejzi
w&m;p&iyici&on?

'rua&ppepoi t oi u;ajmi;aeq o\wn;r [w u;ajmi;y; t cerwirt x jrerm
EiiEiywoul t qy\w&m;& . w&m;p&iyici u\io;Eiz , r&ay? o\yaomvn; , aej t x
vucae:u on Oya'oyyn m t m;av v my\ u &r;jynwi rno\ aomEiiwum&mZ0wrrrm;u
vwavmu\;vev\ u on qji;Ei t u , laemuq;wi x xaom t ceumvwpc t wi;
u\;vecon vr\;w;owjzwr/ pp&mZ0wr/ v\o b m0w&m; tay:u\;ve aom&mZ0wrrrm;/
vowr/ viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuEypun0;ye;rpon }u;rm;vaom&mZ0wrrrm;u ppr;
axmu vr;um &wippaq;&e twu o;jcm; t x;w&m;&wp&yzpn;rn qcyv\i um; , ci
o;jcm;zn;conEiiwumc&EpcEi w&m;±;w\ua&qzpn;con Oya'oyyn mrm; t &
zn;rnjzpayon?

v i y i ; t : u r ; z u r t m ; j z i E y p u n 0 ; y e ; j c i ;

1998 cEp E0ibmwi , ci , *qvijynaxmipqi&m Eiiwumw&m;&u p v b p q ; j z w
c\ u (Celebici Judgement)urjyXme;rt cet x r'r;usijci;t m; Eypun0;ye;jci; t jz
r , qc:uay?⁹ pypc&o 4 0; teu abmpe; , m; rqviwp0;jzpo p v b p t u 0 ; p c e ;
'w , w m 0 e c [m Z i ' v p Hazim Delic on 1992cEp t wi;
x t u 0 ; p c e ; w i c i y a E m i c c & a o m a b m p e ; , m ; q m A t r \ ; o r ; E p 0 ; u r ' r ; y u i j c i ; j z i
*eA m o a b m w p m c i y t m ; j y i ; j y i ; x e x e c \ a z m u j c i / p p O y a ' r m ; t m ; c \ a z m u j c i ; j z i
Eypun0;ye;ru u\;veowp0;jzpa:umi; ppaq;aw&con?

x o \ a o m r ' r ; u s i r r m ; o n E i i w u m O y a ' t & E y p u n 0 ; y e ; r a j m u o n u a p m ' u w u & e
r & a u m i ; j z i w & m ; & u q ; j z w c o n ? r ' r ; u s i j c i ; E i v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u j c i ; w \ o n

⁹ a&mrOya' <http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/romefta.htm>. Articles 7&8 wi:u ny?

⁹ t p ; & a & a e i Delalic Ei tayji; t yrm/ t rey\w IT- 96- 21(16 November 1998), [Celebici Judgement]

&y;i;q i&mEipwyi;q i&mw u t jyi; t xexcuemusiapa:umi;Ei , i;onyi Eypu
 n0;ye;r. v u%&m&yjzpa:umi;zi w&m;&u tav; teuowrwcon? Eypun0;ye;on
 &mZ0wrajrmu&etwu v tyao m t curm &n&, cu&&zihyvycon [aom t cuyi
 jzpon? , i;wi “Eypuc&o o iwn;r [w t jcm;wp0;wpa, mu. owi;ay;wi:um;ji;
 o i r [w zi [ajymqji;/ Eypuc&o o iwn;r [w t jcm;wp0;wpwa, mur ul;vecon
 o i r [w ul;veca:umi;o o , &onvy&ywpctwu t jypay;ji;/ Eypuc&o o iwn;
 r [w t jcm;wp0;wpa, mu t m; t cr;ajcmu;ji; o i r [w twi;t:uyhyvyji;/ o i r [w
 rnontEi usiapmum;rr&;urq t ajcon t a:umi;jycur&,”¹⁰ pont cur&; y0ion
 [w&m;&u owrwcon? t r&;or;jzpaeci;a:umi [qum t r&;or;wp0;tay: t:ur;
 zujci;on tEi usiapmum;ji;wpr&jzpon? t r&;or;. r&;E,pujym;ji;a:umi r'r;uic
 ji;tji/ t r&;or;jzpaeci;a:umi [qum t r&;or;wp0;tay: x o aom t:ur;zurr&;
 ul;veyu/ w m;jrpxm;aom um;r qcm;um tEi uion&n±, cuajrmuon [w&m;&u
 tav;xm;owrwon?¹¹ viyi;q i&m t:ur;zurr&;on n0;ye;Eypuryijzpon [,
 ci , *qvyjynaxmipqi&mEiiwumw&m;&Yppaq;caom t rrm;wi owrwcon?¹²

v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u r t n ; j z i v r &; w ; p p y t o i a q n i a p j i ;

v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u a p m u m ; j i ; r m ; o n v r &; w ; a p & e i y v y o n E i i w u m & m Z 0 w r
 u l ; v e j i ; v n ; j z p E i o n ? v r &; w ; a p & e u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r r m ; w m ; q ; a &; E i t j y p a y ;
 t a &; , a &; n v m c (the Genocide Convention) w i z i q o w r w x m ; c u t & ‘E i i w p E i i /
 v r &; p w p p / v r &; a &; o i w n ; r [w b m o m a &; t y p w p p p o n w i . t p w t y i ; w p c c t m ;
 v n ; a u m i ; / w p p v ; t m ; v n ; a u m i ; z u q ; v o n & n &, c u j z i h y v y c o n ’ t y t r
 r m ; o n T o a o m & m Z 0 w r r &; w i t u &; O i a y o n ? r ' r ; u i j i ; o i r [w t j c m ; a o m v i y i ;
 q i & m t : u r ; z u r r m ; E i y w o u l o j c m ; ! e ; q x m ; c u r m ; r y O i a y ? w m ; j r p y w i x m ; a o m
 t y t r r m ; w i v r &; p l / t y p O i r m ; t m ; o w j z w j c i ; / c E m u , u a o m v n ; a u m i ; p w y i ; q i & m
 u a o m v n ; a u m i ; j y i ; x e p m x c u e m u s i a t m i h y v y c i ; / t y p w p c t w i ; u a v ; a r ; z m ; r u
 w m ; j r p & e & n &, c u j z i p r u e ; r m ; c r w v y a q m i j i ; / u a v ; i , r m ; t m ; t j c m ; a o m v r &; /
 t y p w p c o ! a & a j y m i ; y a q m i j i ; / t y p w p c . t p w t y i ; o i w n ; r [w w p p v ; t m ;
 z u q ; a c r e ; & e & n &, u m t q y t y p . i o e a e x i a &; u p r m ; u w r i w u m x c u a t m i
 h y v y c i ; p o n w y O i o n ? v r &; w ; o w j z w r u m u , a &; o a b m w p m c i y E i y w o u l a & m r
 O y a ' w i v n ; t a v ; t e u a z m j y x m ; o n ?¹³

v r &; w ; o w j z w r u m u , a &; o a b m w p m c i y . & n &, c u r m v r &; / t y p w p c t m ; v : 0 0 \
 z u q ; & e t v i i t r e w &; t & i ; c z i & y i ; q i & m x c u e m u s i a t m i h y v y c o r m ; t m ;
 w m ; q ; a &; / t j y p a y ; t a &; , a &; y i j z p o n ? v r &; w ; w u c u r t j z p v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u

¹⁰ x/ ty' 454

¹¹ x/ ty' 493

¹² O y r m / t p , & a & a e E i F u r u n d z i j a t r t r w I T - 9 5 - 1 7 / 1 , q j z w c u (1 0 D e c e 1 9 9 8) z ' e Z * m q j z w c u w i
 c ' a t ; & m ; u m u , a & a u m i p t x ; p p & m e a ' o w m O e c z ' e Z * m o n a b m p e ; , m ; r q v i t r i ; o r ; w p 0 ; t m ; p p a q ; a e p 0
 u m v t w i ; r ' r ; u i j i ; Y t m ; a y ; u n c o n j i r ' r ; r w i y a y i ; y 0 i u &; v e c o w p 0 ; t j z p z i E y p u n ? 0 ; y e ; r u u t ; v e c y o n ?
 v u e u u i y y u j z p m ; a e o n t c e r m ; t w i ; E y p u n ? 0 ; y e ; r a j r m u & e v t y c u r m w i E y p u n ? 0 ; y e ; r Y y 0 i o r m ; x r t e n ; q ;
 w p 0 ; o n t p ; & O e x r ; o i r [w ' t m % m t x i u & q w u i x m ; o w p 0 ; 0 ; ' j z p & r n [w & m ; ? ; u a z m y c o n ?

¹³ a & m r O y a ' t y ' 6 u : u n y ?

apmum;ujci;rm vrđ/ typ0irsm;tm;re;w;ji;. o±youeyijzpy;/ , i;re;w;ronyiv/i
tjcm;aom &yyi;qi&mxcuemusia t mihvyonvvy&yrm;. t a:umi;&i;cjzpayon?¹⁴

1998 puwibm 2 &uae;wi p&iq;jzwcaom tp;&a&aeEi t um&q (Akayesu) trwi
&Or'w&m;& (ICTR) u viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuont tytrrm;tm; vrđ;w;apa&vy&m;r.
t ajcc t pwt yi;rm; t jzp w&m;pqEia:umi;yxrq;t}urt jzpt o trwycon?¹⁵ wmbm
(Taba) tycya&a'o t}u;t uizpo *i;eayv t um&q (Jean-Paul Akayesu) on vrđ;
w;owjzwr/ vlobm0w&m; tay: uđ;veaom&mZ0wrrrm;/ pp&mZ0wrrrm; t jyi viyi;
qi&m t:ur;zuont tytrrm; jzpy;m;aea:umi;uov:uEi 4i;.yieue , ajrtwi; t qy
t:ur;zurrm;quvuuđ;veEi&e ciycji;jzi uđ;verrm;witm;ay;unjci; ponjpr
rm;jzi w&m;pqcc&yon? xjyi viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuon&mZ0wrrrm;uđ;vecp0u
4i;u , wi&aea:umi;/ xo&aejci;a:umiyi &mZ0wrrrm;uđ;ve&e tm;ay;tm;ajrmuhy&m
a&mua:umi; pojzivr;n;pc:uwicc&on? wmbm tycya&a'oEi &Or'Ei t 0e;Y jzpy;m;
caom viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuon&mZ0wrrrm;on vrđ;w;owjzwon tytrrm;yijzp
on [w&m;&;uq;jzwcon?

xviyi;qi&m t:ur;zur.aemuquwwi vrđ;w;owjzwon&mZ0wrrrm;uđ;ve&e
twu o;jcm; &n&, cu y&aeon [l w&m;&;u , qayon? x&n&, cuEiywoul
vn; taxmutxm;rm;&aeay&m r'r;rtrrm;tjym;on vrsm;utpvut y/vu owjzw
jriyExm;ona&mrm;te;wi uđ;veconqao m t:ur;rm;/ ta0;o;ac:aqmiom;aom trđ;
or;rm;tm; aemuyi;wi uyruowjzw&epn;apona:ujimc:urrm;u xwyecon q
ontaxmutxm;rm;&aeayon?¹⁶

w&m;&;u 'vrđ/ typ t wi;Y uav;ar;zm;rrrm;uwm;jrp&e&n± , umaqmi±urrm;'
[aompum;p. t "y/, tm;vn; p0;pm;o;oycon? tx;o;zi viyi;qi&m xcuemusi&e
hyvyji;/ oaErwnap&e om;a:umjzwji;/ twi;t:uy u , 0ewm;ji;/ }ulwipp0y;
u , 0e&ap&e hyvyji;pon viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuont tytrrm;pEiywoul tx;*±y
avvm;o;oycon? xjyivr;n; r'r;usijci;on pwyi;qi&mxcuemusir jzpay:apji;tm;
jzi vrđ/ typwpc t wi; u , 0eaqmi;ji;uwm;q;Ei&eaqmi±uc:uwp&yjzpa:umi;u
vn;avvmaw&c&ayon?¹⁷

v i y i ; t : u r ; z u r t n ; j z i v l o b m 0 w & n ; t a y : & n Z 0 w r r u đ ; v e j c i ;

ppjzpy;m;aep0jzpap oir [w +ir;cr;ont ajc t aewijzpap/ t &yom;rm; tay: viyi;qi&m
t:ur;zurrm;tm; pepwuEi us , us , jyejyeđ typz l uđ;vejci;rm;tm; vlobm0w&m;
tay: uđ;veon&mZ0wrrrm; t jzp w&m;pEiayon? v owji;/ Eypun0;yejci;/
ulejji;/ tu0;cji;/ jynweqmb0ođ twi;t:uyy;aqmijci;/ u , 0e&ap&e twi;

¹⁴ Judith G. Gardam & Michelle J. Jarvis . trđ;or;rm/ vueuu iy/yuEi tjynjynqi&m0ya' Kluwer Law
International pmr:uEm 190 wi:u ny?

¹⁵ tp;&a&aeEi t um&q tr trw ICTR-96-4 q;jzwc:u (2 September 1998) [Akayesu judgment]
¹⁶ x/ pmy' 733? Supra note 7 pmr:uEm 195 wi:u ny?

¹⁷ x/ pmy' 507 Ei 508? Gardam, supra note 15 pmr:uEm 195 wi:u ny? viyi;qi&m t:ur;zujci;tm;jzi
vrđ;w;owjzwji;jzpa:umi; ovrwrw tp;&a&aeEi raqrm tr wi ICTR r crwon aemuquw q;jzwc:uY
twn?yxm;on? the Prosecutor v. Musema, ICTR 96-13-1 Judgment, 27 January 2000 [Musema judgment]

t:uyiyvyci;/ t&yom;rm; tay:wi r'r;usijci; o!wn;r[w t jcm;aom vrqeonhyr
 usi)ujci;rm; t m; pepwusul;veji;olr[w t pvu ty/vu ul;veji; ponw;t m;v;
 on vlobmOw&m; tay: ul;veon&mZ0wrrm;xwit u\$;Oion? Eiiwumjzpa
 a'owi;Yjzpa/ vueuuiyÉyur; t wi;ul;vecji;jzpyu T ul;ver t m;v;on
 pp&mZ0wrrm;yijzpon?

v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u j c i ; u v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : & m Z 0 w r u l ; v e j i ; t j z p o w r w j c i ; E i
 y w o u l , a e l t x v u c o a b m w n r r m ; w i a t m u y t c u r m ; y O i o n ? E y p u n O ; y e j c i ;
 u v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r r m ; t j z p o w r w u j c i ; / r ' r ; u s i j c i ; u v l
 o b m O w & m ; t a y : u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r r m ; t j z p o w r w j c i ; u j y w j y w o m ; o m ; t o t r w y
 : u j c i ; ¹⁸ (r ' r ; u s i j c i) v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u o n t y t r r m ; u v r q e o n h y r e n ; r m ; t m ;
 j z i v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r r m ; t j z p o w r w y ; / w & m ; p q c j c i ; / u l e y c i ;
 a p j c i ; u v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r r m ; . t p w t y i ; w p & y j z p o n t y t r
 t j z p o w r w j c i ; t m ; t o t r w y : u j c i ; p o n w y O i o n ?

t u m & q t r p & i c u u r ' r ; u s i j c i ; t m ; p p & m Z 0 w r t j z p u s , u s , j y e j y e t ' y ,
 z i q o w r w u m v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : u l ; v e o n t j c m ; a o m & m Z 0 w r r m ; E i w e ; w y i j z p
 a : u m i ; o w r w c o n ? r ' r ; r r m ; u p e p w u E i t y p v u h y u i c u j c i ; j z p a : u m i ; w & m ; & r
 p p a q ; a w & c o n ? t u m & q p & i c u w i r ' r ; u s i j c i ; u a , b , s q e a o m , q c u r m ; j z p o n
 w e b ; / r o m ; p o ! w n ; r [w & y & m t m ; * % o u m n p E r ; a p j c i ; p o j z i z i q j c i ; r y b
 t r ; o r ; w p O ; . y * t v a & ; v c l r u w u c u j c i ; j z p o n [y r ± y v ; a y a t m i j y e v n u m t ' y ,
 z i q c o n ? t O w t p m ; r m ; c l w y p & e t w i ; t : u y c i ; a p j c i ; o n v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u
 j c i ; y i j z p u m v r q e a o m t j c m ; t y t r r m ; j z i v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : & m Z 0 w r u l ; v e j i ; j z p
 o n [w & m ; & ; u z i q c o n ? ¹⁹ v i q u q j c i ; o l r [w t r ; o r ; t * j Z m w t w i ; o l v i w x n
 o i ; c j c i ; w l u o m v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u j c i ; r m ; t j z p u e l o w o w r w x m ; j c i ; r [w a : u m i ;
 t c i t r m o u a o j y v u j c i ; j z p o n ? v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : & m Z 0 w r w p c t j z p v r q e p m
 u l ; v e o n p ; & r z , a u m i ; a o m v i y i ; q i & m a p m u m ; r t r ; t p m ; t m ; , * q v y w & m ; &
 (I C T Y) u z m & e Z * p & i c u (F u r u n d z i j a d e c i s i o n) w i t w n l y c o n ?

w m ' p (T a d i c) t r ²⁰ w i t r m p u m (O m a r s k a) p c e ; r a b m p e ; , m ; q m b p p t & m & i ,
 ' y p u w m ' p (D u s k o T a d i c) t m ; j y p r x i & m ; o j z i 1997 c E p a r v 7 & u a e l w i , * q v y
 w & m ; & (I C T Y) u p & i c u c c o n ? v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u a p m u m ; u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r r m ;
 t y t O i v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : u l ; v e a o m & m Z 0 w r r m ; a : u m i E y p u n O ; y e j c i ; q i & m
 & m Z 0 w r O y a ' y ' r r m ; j z i p & i c u c c j c i ; j z p o n ? , i ; t a e j z i v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u r r m ; t m ;
 w u & u u l ; v e c l r [w a o m v n ; / u s , u s , j y e j y e p e p w u s y v y c a o m t a x a x t : u r ; z u
 v y & m ; r r m ; w i y O i c a : u m i ; p p a q ; a w & l x o p & i c u c c j c i ; j z p o n ? r ' r ; u s i j c i ; E i

¹⁸ ICTY Statute Article 5(g) ICTR Statute Article 3. Article 7 (1) (G) wiy&aom viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuru
 vlobmOw&m; tay:w iul;veon &mZ0wrrm;Ei qupyowrwxm;ji;u r'r;uijci;/ twi;t:uy jynweqm;yci/
 twi;t:uy u ,Oe&apjci;/ twi;t:uyom;aumjzwapjci;rm; olr[w viyi;qi&m t:ur;zujci;Ei tvm;w
 t'y ,aqmion t'y t r t m ;v;'yOia:umi;ji w;c iowrwc on?

¹⁹ tum&q qjzwc u ty' 697 u:uny? raqrm qjzwc u supra note 20 wivn:uny? r'r;rrm;on
 t&yom;rm; tay:wi ov:uEi u s , u s , j y e j y e p e p w u s u l ; v e y v y c o n v y a q m i r r m ; j z p o n E i t n r a q r m o n v n ;
 v l o b m O w & m ; t a y : w i u l ; v e o n & m Z 0 w r (r ' r ; r) t w u t y p & a : u m i ; a w & a y o n ?

²⁰ t p ; & a e E i w m ' p t r l q j z w c u 7 May 1999 [Tadic judgment]

viyi;qi&m t:ur;zuji; t m; t &yom;jynorm; tay: u s , u s , iyejye| pepwusyvyaom
t:ur;zu vy&m;rrm; . t pwt yi; t jzp ovrwp0;pm;Eia:umi; t qyp&iq;jzwc:uu
azmijowrwwujci;jzpon? u s ;au smwucuw. t:ur;zu vy&m;rwi u s , u s ,
iyejye|o| r [w pepwus u s ;vecji;jzpaomvn; r'r;usijci; t m; u s , u s , iyejye| o| r [w
pepwusyvyci; [wr [w ouaojy&erv tyay/ r'r;usijci;on &mZ0wryp t r; r; r;
t eu wpcc t m; u s ;vecji; [wr [w [om ouaojy&ev tyrnjzpon?²¹

r'r;usijci; t m; v|obm0w&m; tay: u s ;veaom&mZ0wr t jzp uem&u (Kunarac)/ uAu
(Kovac) Ei AuAp(Vukovic) pon trrm;wi, *qvy w&m;&; (ICTY) u 2001cEp
azazm0&v 22 &uaewi yxrq;t|ur p&i:cuccon?²² abmpe; , m;qmb vueuui
wyz0irm;on r'r;usijci; t m; t:ur;zu vueut jzp t o;yci&ca:umi; , i;w u s ;vev
on rno|urq xvueut m; t cera&; vwwvvyvy t o;yci&ca:umi; w&m;&;
trw (2) uppaq;aw/&con? t jcm;aom t a:umi; t currm; ty t 0i w&m;±; t aejzi
w&m;cw. u s ;verrm;rm r qvibm0i t &yom;rm; t m; pepwuwucujci;rm;jzp
a:umi; , i;w t aejzi xvy&m;r. t "u&n& , cuwpcrm r qvibm0irm; t m;
a'o twi;rz , &m;ejzponuvn; o&xm;ua:umi; / x&n& , cu xajrmua t mijri&e
rqvibm0i t &yom;rm; ae&yoyjyevmlrjzpEion t ajctaeo| a&m u& apa&; twu
t:ur;zu vy&m;wucuca:umi; / &mZ0wryp t r; r; / t x;ojzi zr;q;xe;or; xm;aom
t r; or;rm; / re;ri , av;rm; t m; r'r;jyusijci;Eiywo u on&mZ0wrrm;uvn; , i;w
o&em;vnxm;ua:umi; / r qvitr; or;rm;u r'r;usi&etwu t re&xm;jci;
r [wont jyi/ r'r;usi&et re&vmyuvn; vuem&erm , i;w t ay:wio m rwna:umi;
pojzi ppaq;aw/&cayon?

uem&u (Kunarac)/ uAu (Kovac) Ei AuAp (Vukovic) w|on uleyjci;vy&y t m;jzi
v|obm0w&m; tay: u s ;veon &mZ0wr u s ;vecaoma:umi jyp'%c:rwcc&ayon? v|
obm0w&m; tay: u s ;veaom&mZ0wr t m; uleyjci;jzi u s ;vecon t rr;Eiywo u l
 , *qvyw&m;&; (ICTY)u yxrq;t|urt jzp ppaq;aw/& q;jzwcji;jzpon? w&m;cw
on t r; or; (6) 0; t m; uleycuon/ viau;ulerm; t jzp vayi;rm;pm zr;q;xe;or;y;
w&m;crm;Ei t jcm;y*vrsm; t m; typvu t|ur|ur r'r;jyusicujci;jzpon? t qy
jyp'%p&i:cun v|obm0w&m; tay: u s ;veaom&mZ0wr t m; viuleyjci;jzi u s ;vec
aoma:umi c:rwcaom w&m;p&i:urrm;jzpon?²³

²¹ x/ ty' 704 Ei 649? v|obm0w&m; tay: u s ;veon&mZ0wrwi y0ionrm;Eiywo u l tao;pw aq;aEjxm;on
Prosecutor v. Blaskic, No. IT-95-19, Judgment (3 March 2000), para 203 wivn;uny?
'pepwuwucua:re;wiy0ion t "u v u %m&yav;cu w&m;?r azmijxm;mw i (u) t &yom; vrt; tptzwpctay:
&mZ0wrwpcu xEix nEiu s ;veji; (c) Eia&;nre;cuwpc&ji/ wucua:re;&et vijia&;qon t ptp0wpc&ji/
vrtptzwp cu zuq;acre;&el n?0ye;Eypu&e o| r [w t i t m;avsmen;om;ap&e t , t qoabmw&m;wpcxm; &ji/ (*)
ppwyEiqi&mjzpa| t jcm;jzpa| ta&y;on t rmyiEi y*vuyi t &i; t jrprsm; t m; t o; yji;Ei u s ;veji; (C)
en;pepu: on t ptp0rm; c:rwji;Ei taumi t x nazmji;wwi t qijri Eia&; t m %myirm;Ei?o| r [w t qijri p t m %m
yirm;y, o , Ouao men;vr;jziy0iywo ujci;?

²² 'Judgment of rial Chamber II in the Kunarac, Kovac and Vukovic case', the Hague, 22 February 2001 JL/P.I.S/

566-e. owi; xwyjecuwi:u ny?

²³ x/ pmr:uEm 1 Ei v| t ci t a&apmi:u nav vma&; t z| . 'Bosnia: Landmark Verdicts for Rape, Torture, and Sexual
Enslavement', (New York, February 22)

v i y i ; t : u r ; z u r t m ; j i p p & m Z O w r u l ; v e j c i ; - 1949 c E p * e A m o a b m w n c u t m ; p ; & r z , a u m i ; a v m u a t m i c l ; a z m u j c i ; / p p y q i & m v u e m & r n p n ; r O y a ' r m ; t m ; c l ; a z m u j c i ;

1949 cEp *eAmoabmwncu t m ; p ; & r z , a u m i ; a v m u a t m i c l ; a z m u j c i ; / p p y q i & m O y a ' r m ; t m ; E i i w u m w i a & m j y n w i ; v u e u u i y É y u r m ; Y y x E i x n E i j y i ; x e p m c l ; a z m u j c i ; p o n w i t m ; v ; o n p p & m Z O w r r m ; w i t i u ; O i a y o n ? * e A m o a b m w n c u t m ; v ; o n j y n w i ; v u e u u i y É y u r m ; E i o u q i r r & a y ? o l a o m v n ; r ' r ; r E i y w o u l u m ; j y n w i ; y É y u p p y r m ; t w i ; v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u o n v y & y r m ; t m ; t j y n j y n q i & m v o m ; c i ; p m e m r O y a ' u w w u s u w m ; j r p x m ; o n ? * e A m o a b m w n c u t y ' 3 w i ' v y * v E i v a e r b 0 t m ; t : u r ; z u j c i ; / ' & u p u p m i y r j c i ; / ' n O ; y e ; E y p u j c i ; ' o l r [w ' v i * % o u m t m ; x y ; a p o n & u p u & r ; u m ; r r m ; ' u w m ; j r p x m ; a y o n ? j y n w i ; v u e u u i y É y u r m ; t w i ; & t & y o m ; r m ; u t u m t u , a y ; & e * e A m o a b m w n c u r m ; . a e m u q u w p m c l y O y a ' y ' r 4 (2) (i) w i ' v i * % o u m t m ; x y ; a p o n & u p u & r ; u m ; r r m ; / v r q e o n a p m u m ; y r j c i ; r m ; / r ' r ; y u s i j c i ; / j y n w e q m b 0 o l a & m u & & e t w i ; t : u y i y v y j c i ; E i & i p i ; , w n a o m t y t r r m ; ' p o n w i u t w t v i ; w m ; j r p j y l m e ; x m ; o n ? ²⁴

zm&eZ* t r p & i c u (*Furundzija judgment*) E i u e m & u (K u n a r a c) / u A u (K o v a c) E i A u A p (V u k o v i c) p o n t r r m ; w i r ' r ; u s i j c i ; t m ; p p & m Z O w r t j z p , * q v y w & m ; & (I C T Y) u t w n i y a y ; c o n ? t x ; o j i j y n w i ; v u e u u i y É y u r m ; E i y w o u l z m & e Z * t r p & i c u (*Furundzija judgment*) w i , * q v y w & m ; & (I C T Y) u r ' r ; u s i j c i ; t m ; * e A m o a b m w n c u t a x a y ' r (3) t & p p & m Z O w r t j z p o w r w c o n ? z m & e Z * o n a b m p e ; , m ; r q v i t r l ; o r ; w p O ; t m ; r ' r ; u s i & m w i u n t m ; a y ; j c i ; / w u w e ; v l a q m j c i ; t m ; j i j y p r u l ; v e c a : u m i ; w & m ; & r p p a q ; a w i & c o n ? z m & e Z * o n , i ; p p a q ; a r j r e ; a e a o m a b m p e ; , m ; r q v i t r l ; o r ; t m ; , i ; . v u a t m u i , o m j z p o u p t t m ; v n ; a u m i ; / r e ; r u , t m ; v n ; a u m i ; / y ; p y t m ; v n ; a u m i ; r ' r ; u s i c p O u / z m & e Z * t a e j i ' x & m Z O w r u l ; v e & e t w u w e ; t m ; a y ; a p o n u n j c i ; / w u w e ; j c i ; o l w n ; r [w p w y i ; q i & m t & t m ; a y ; j c i ; ' w i t m ; j y v y c a : u m i ; p p a q ; a w i & c & o n ? u e m & u (K u n a r a c) / u A u (K o v a c) E i A u A p (V u k o v i c) w i o n p p y q i & m O y a ' o r m ; o l r [w v u e m & r n x ; w r ; r m ; u c l ; a z m u j c i ; t j z p q j z w u m r ' r ; r / w p e n ; p p & m Z O w r u l ; v e c a : u m i ; j y p ' % p & i c c & o n ?

a & m r O y a ' t & 1949 c E p * e A m o a b m w n c u u (E i i w u m v u e u u i y É y u r m ; t w i ;) p ; & r z , a u m i ; a v m u a t m i a z m u z u j c i ; o l r [w * e A m o a b m w n c u t a x a y ' r (3) u (j y n w i ; v u e u u i y É y u r m ; t w i ;) j y i ; j y i ; x e x e a z m u z u j c i ; r m ; w i t y t O i j z p o n r ' r ; u s i j c i ; / v i u l e y j c i ; / t w i ; t : u y j y n w e q m i y j c i ; / u , O e a q m i a p & e t w i ; t : u y p p O j c i ; / o a E r a t m i a p & e t w i ; t : u y o m ; a : u m j z w i j c i ; / o l w n ; r [w y p t r l ; r i j z i v i y i ; q i & m t : u r ; z u j c i ; r m ; o n p p & m Z O w r r m ; y i j z p o n [q . ? ²⁵

²⁴ 1949 : o * w 12 * e A m o a b m w n c u r m ; a e m u q u w E i t j y n j y n q i & m r [w a o m v u e u u i y y u r m ; t w i ; ' m ; p m c r m ; t m ; u m u , a & p m c l y E i q u p y ; 1977 ' Z i b m 12 w i p w i v u r w a & x ; c u o n p m c l y / A r t i c l e 4 (2) (a) a n d (e) , 1125 U.N.T.S.3, 16 ILM 1442 (1977)? j r e r m E i i o n t q y a e m u q u w p m c l y t z O i E i r [w a o m v n ; T O y a ' o n x ; w r ; r m ; t & t j y n j y n q i & m O y a ' j z p a : u m i ; a p m ' u w u E i a y o n ?

²⁵ Rome Statue, article 8 (2) (b)(xxii) (international armed conflicts).

r'r;rtwu wm0e&on trelay;ne:um;ji;

,*qvy w&m;&(ICTY)u uem&u (Kunarac)/ uAu(Kovac) Ei AuAp(Vukovic) w|. trwi 'ppyumvwiuoyi-i;r;cr;onumvwi 'u , 0cr;omotr;om;rm;taeji tr; or;rm;t m;rw&m;u;i)ujci;ry:uy' [xuqum '&mZ0wrrvwajrmua&t wu v uat mui , om; oir[w vuaxmutqi&owp0;0;uto;cjci;t m;vurcEi' [azmjyc aomvn; viyi;qi&m t:ur;zurEiywouon&mZ0wrrrm;wi trelwm0ecr (oir[w t xutqiwm0e&r) jzi vy*v tawmrsm;rm;u ,*qvy w&m;&(ICTY) r pc:u wicon? trelwm0ecroabmw&m;t& t xut&m&t m%myiae&mw i& orsm; taeji v uat mui , om;rm; . tlytrtrsm;t wu Oya'a:umi;t&wm0e&ayon?

pvbptr(Celebici) q;jzwc:uY tu0;pce;twi; tapmirm;u vom;ci;pmemrqi&m tijnjynqi&mOya't m; c;azmucrrsm;t wu trelwm0ecrtajcct& Z'yu rqp (Zdravko Mucic) witjy&a:umi; ,*qvyw&m;&(ICTY) raw&con? pvbp (Celebici) tu0;pce;wiu;l;vecaom&mZ0wrrrm;rm t}ur}urjzpy;m;cji;jpy; [;av; wpa:umjzpc jci;a:umi ,i;w|u rpwmrqp (Mucic) taeji ro&Eirn oir[w r:um;oEirnta:umi; v;0r&y' [w&m;&uq;jzwcon? x&mZ0wrrrm;wi rqp (Mucic) . v uat mui , om;rm; u;l;vecon r'r;rrsm;/ viyi;qi&mapmum;rrsm; y0ion?

bvmpuptrq;jzwc:u (Blaskic Judgment) wi c&at;&m;umu ,a&aumip (Croatian Defense Council - HVO) rAvr;u;wp0;jzpy; t v ,yi;abmpe; , m;ppqia&a'o (Central Bosnia Operative Zone) . HVO t}u;tuvn;jzpo w[r,m;bvmpup (Tihomir Blaskic) t m; abmpe; , m;t v ,yi;a'or abmpe; , m;rqvitr;or;rm;tay:u;l;vecaom &mZ0w rrm; / pp&mZ0wrrrm;/ t:ur;zu&upuji;rm;t y t0i vom;ji;pmemrqi&m tijnjyn qi&mOya'c;azmurtr;r;t wu trelay;!e:um;cji;/ tuucpp0jci;/ pwi vyaqmi jci; o|wn;r[w wen;wvr;jizjzppap t qy&mZ0wrrrm;u tuucpp0&el wiuiyiqi &e oir[w taumitxnazm&et wu t m;ay;uncji;t a:umi;w:a:umi ,*qvy w&m;&(ICTY)rjyp'%p&ic:ucrwcayon?

e*;cily

,ctp&icpmwi y0iaomtaxmutxm;rm;t& jrermppptp&on &r;jyn&wi;&i;om; vr;l;prsm;t m;wucu&mw i r'r;usijci;t m; ppv ueuypn;wpctjzp us , us , jyejye| Ei tptp0c; to;jyaa:umi; xi&m;ay:viaeon? a'o twi; yrw;cilyvymaom ppy oi;jci; (militarization) a:umi tr;or;rm;/ re;rylrm;taeji r'r;jyucic&&e jzpEiacs yrrm;jym;vmrnoabmjzpon? Eiiwum&mZ0wrajrmuaom viyi;qi&m t:ur;zujci; rsm;t m; p&ippaq;caom ,*qvyw&m;&(ICTY) Ei &Or'w&m;&(ICTR) . w&m;p&ic:u u qe:ppuny u &r;jynwi jrermppwyr vlobm0w&m;tay:wiu;l;veon &mZ0w rrm;/ pp&mZ0wrrrm;t m; u;l;vevfu&onqji;ut xit&m;azmjyaeyon?

r'r;usicc&orm;on &r;jyntwi; t m;u;t m;xm;jy&e wpw&m w&m;Oya'a:umi;t & ta&; aqmi±urrm; own;r[w ta&ay:t ut nrm; r&&uy? xi;Eiibuol xuajy; vm&orm;rmvn; tumtu,rjzpaey;/ vom;ci;pmemaxmuxm;aomunrrm; ui;r vu&um ae&yoivn; t c&era&jyevnyaqmic&z , &ayon?

jrermpwyon r'r;usijci;t m; ta&; tiypay;c&ici;r&b us, us, jyejyeEi tptp0cs quvuul;veci&aeont"u ta:umi;&i;rm &r;jyna'ow0r; tx;oizi yEyuizpym; &ma'orm;on jiyurmEi tqu to , jywaeci;a:umijzpon? jrermeiwi;o! vma&mu :uaom Eiiwumr vtci ta&avvmapmi:unorm;taeji xa'orm;o! om;a&mu cir&uay? tjcm;aoma'orm;wivn; pptp&u v+cla& wi;uypmcsxm;av&on? oijzp aoma:umi jiyurmo! owi;tcu tvurm; a&muEia&twu wpcwn;aomen;vr; rm e,pya'orwqiomjzpon? o!&mwi pptp&on e,pya'or aw&c&urrm;/ tp&ic&urrm;t m; reuerr&a:umijii;q&e en;vr;rm;t qurjyw&mazv+u&y; , i; tcu tvurm;on "vueuuaomi;ue;orm;"Eie;pyaom owi;&yuurm;rvmaom tcu tvurm;jzpon [qum jii;qav&on? Or;enz,aumi;onrm t c&laom Eiiwumtoi;t0i;ry*vr;rm;on 'uonrm;.jzp&yrm;Eiywoul rerrep;pr;ppaq; &e e,pya'oolvma&muici;yir&oizi pptp&t z! oo,tu;c±cirrm; yr&&aeap yon? t c&laom tp&rm;taeji jynwi;ppquvuizpym;aeji;Ei wi;&i;om;vr;pa'o rrm;wi t&yom;rm;t m; quvul &upu:ur;juypm vyaqmiaeci;wju vspv±xm; :u-y; pptp&t m;quq&mwi ylniomaymajymi;vmum unaxmuyue/ &i;E; jriyE:u&ewuwe;vmaeyon?

a':atmiqep:unacii;aqmiaom twu tc'rua&pt i t m;prsm;Eiomru twu tc wi;&i;om;rm;Eivn; t"ym,&onaw/qaq;rrsm; pwiap&e pptp&tay: Eiiwumr ztm;ay;rrsm; quvuivy&ev tyyon? wpEiiv;twi;twmEi typtcw&ypci; rlyEiao;oa±/ vr;st;py \ emrm;t m;ajz&i;a&twu Eia&aw/qaq;aE;yrsm;rpwiao; oa± jynwi;ppquvuizpym;ae0;rn omjzpy; jrermjynwi;&i;om;a'orm;& xwve/ a:umuruz, t:ur;zurrm;onvn; twm;t q;r& quvuizpym;ae0;rnjzpayon?

,ae/ t c&ewi viyi;qi&m t:ur;zurrm;jzpay:ae&on ta:umi;&i;on pprijzpy;ae jci;a:umijzpa:umi; oo,jzpz, r&y? tr∨rm;Ei uav;oi,rm;taeji viyi; qi&m t:ur;zuapmum;c&ici;r tumtu,&&vmap&etwu wi;&i;om;a'orm;wi pputq;ow&e/ ppyoyoi;aeji;rm;&yqi;&e/ 'rua&pEiw&m;Oya'p;r;a& jyevn &&e t&wju;vt yaeyon?

&r;jynwi usm; r qcm;quqjci;us, us, jyejyejzpay:aeaom t ajc t aeY ppyrm; t q;ow om;cv+i viyi;qi&mapmum;t:ur;zurrm; v;v;vsm;vsm; t q;owom;rn [u/Eyw/ taeji wxpcr, qaomvn; tr∨rm;t z! ,i;w/. tci ta&rm;t m; ccumu, ci&& ap&etwu r&rjzpv tyao m t&mr m 'rua&pen;us tyc&ya&Ei w&m;Oya'p;r;a&yi jzpon? x t ajc ta:umi;&i;rm;jynpromvi u/Eyw/. vlabmi toi;t0i;twi; tr& or;rm;t m; qcm;quqcae&ici;rm;u t q;owe*;c&yap&etwu vyaqmia;Ei:u rnjzpayon?

o ijzp l u|Eyw|taejzi atnuyltwi;t}ulytyayon?

E i iawnat ;c;r;om , na&Ei z ijz;w ;wu a&aumi po i -

1? vr;pyne , rsm;twi; pypowoi;rrsm;wym;vmaejci;Ei aomi;u;e;oqelusia&prc;ur;vyaqmiaejci;w|u&ywe&etwu wpEiiv;twi;twm t m;ji t yptcw&ypa&u;cujci;taumi t x nazmaqmi±u&e?

2? wi;jyn . tem*wEiia&t wu Armr [waomvr;pw; &i;om;rsm;/ twu tc'rua&t i t m;prsm;ru , pm;v , rsm;y|Oion o;yi qiaw|qaq;aE;a&u pwi&e?

3? 1949 cEp :o*wv 12 &u *eAmnvmcrwnwnwwn;q;jzwcon q;jzwc;u ty' 3 ty|t0i t jynjynqi&m vom;ci;pmemaxm ux m;rOya'y| vuemaqmi±u&rntc;ur;uav;pm;&e/ t&yom;rsm;t m; vueut o;cEyuyaejci;u&ywe&e/ uav;oi , rsm;/ tr;or;rsm;Ei vr;pt&/ u;u , ,:unrt& ven;pjzpaom wi;&i;om;rsm;ty|t0i Ei iom;t m;v;u vom;ci;pmemaxm ux m;onOya'c;azmuc&rrsm;r umu , apmia&m u&e?

4? t"r o|r [w rvyrae& t vyci;aprq i&m 1930 cEp tit , tq;jzwc;uy| vuem aqmi±u&et c;ur;uav;pm;&e?

5? tr;or;t ci ta&rsm;t m;c;azmuaerrsm;/ tx;o;zi j yevn0ia&m uvm on'uon rsm;/ jynwi;Ya&ajymi;c∨sm;/ o|r [w vr;ptz| twu tcEiia&t z;rsm;Eiywouon tr;or;rsm;t m;jprwxm;um ppwyru;veaeon t"rt vyci;apjci;/ t"rae&m ajymi;a&apjci;/ Eypun0;yejci;/ viyi;qi&m t:ur;zujci;/ t o;c;tjrxwjc;/ zr;q;xm;p0n0;yejci;/ t u0;&p&ijci; t p&onw|u&ywe&e?

6? vtrsm;t m; pepwujzi t"rajymi;a&aeonjzp&yrrsm;u&ywe&e/ tre;ci;eiirsm;o|'uontjzp xuajy;&ci;rsm;yaym u&eEi , i;w|qEtavsm u vicpwc;pmiyevn0ia&m uum rom;pEiijevnayi;pn;Ei&etwu v tyontajc taerrsm;u tv tavmuzew;ay;&e/ , i;w|j yevn0ia&m uaexiEia&u taxmu t u yEi&etwu vom;ci;pmemaxm ux m;a&aqmi±uor;sm;t m; vicl tq;twm;r&onvyyicirsm;uciy&e/ tx;o;zi e , pya'or;sm;Y tr;or;rsm;Eiuav;oi , rsm;t m; varmicu;aeonjy \ emrsm;u ajz&i;&e?

7? uav;t ci ta&qi&m oabmwpmc;lyEi tr;or;rsm;t m;en;r;pjzicjcm;quqrt m;v;z uor;a&oabmwpmc;lyw|wi yOion t c;ur;twi;vuemaqmi±u&E i iawmOya'jy|me;um tqyoabmwpmc;lyrsm;Ei t n vuaw|azmaqmi uio;&e/ tr;or;rsm;t m; en;r;pjzicjcm;quqrt m;v;z uor;a&oabmwpmc;ly. o;o;e|aem uquwpmc;lywi y|Oivurwx;a&Ei twnlyvurwx;a&/ tvm;wyi uav;oi , rsm;t ci ta&qi&m oabmwpmc;ly. o;o;e|aem uquwpmc;lywi y|Oivurwx;a&/ twnly a&w|twu j yevn0;pm; o;oy&e?

8? t r\$;or;rm; t m;en;r\$;pziqcm;quqr t m;v;yaymua&;qi&maumrw. t }u\ycur;rm;
u t jynt 0taumit x nazm&e/ t x;ozi t r\$;or;t ci ta&;c\;azmuor;rm; t m; w&m;
p&ippaq;um t jypay;&earwm&ycciuu taumit x nazm&e?

x i;E i i awm t p; & o ! -

1? xi;EiiEi&rjyne ,pya'o&&r;vx t m; xi;Eiiwi;o\,pyjzwaumciay;um 'u
onpce;rm;Ei uvor*'uonrm;qi&mr [mri;}u;&o\ quo ,ci\jci; t m;ji t um
t u ,ay;&e?

2? Eia&;cvci& , von&r;wi;&i;om;rm; t m; xi;Eii t ajcpu vom;ci;pmemaxmumx;
rt u t nay;aeon t z\ t pn;rm;Ei quo ,Eiciay;&e?

3? ajymi;a&Oia&m u v m o&r; t vyorm; t rsm;pon t rewu , 'uonrm;jzpaoma:umi
,i;w\ t m; jrermEiiwi;o\jyey\onupEiywoul o;o\ *±yaqmi±u&e?

4? &r; t r\$;or;rm; t m; jrermppwyv uwi;o\jyev nyaqmi jci;r\y&e?

5? ajymi;a&aexio jrermEiiom;rm;Eiywoul aq;aEjci;/ nEi;jci;t yi Eii&i;o\jyey\
a&; t p t pOrsm; t m;v;wi xi;EiiEijrermEii t p;&rsm; t aeji eiiwumvrt 0e;t 0i;Ei
uvor*'uonrm;qi&mr [mri;}u;&w\ yOiaq;aE;Eia&;u ci\y&e? ajymi;a&aexio
t vyorm;rm; . xucmvm&jci; t aumi;&i;rm;u t qyaq;aE;yrsm;wi uiw , ajz&i;&e?

E i i wunt 0e; t 0 i; o ! -

1? jrermr [waom vr\$;pwi;&i;om;rm;aexi&ma'or;rm;wi t xiu&jzpyuaeon v\
t ci ta&;c\;azmu aerrsm;uz;u , &e&n± , cuji [ejyvyaeon eia&;jzpay;w;wur
qonrm; t m; vucji;r\y&e?

2? uvor*v\ t ci ta&;aumr&i. 'jrermEii v\ t ci t &; t ajc t ae' Eiywouon
q;jzwc:u trw 2002\$67 u t ajcyxm;on t x uazmjy\ t }u\ycur;rm; t m; azmaqmi&e
twu pptp;&u z t m;ay;&e? jrermEiiwi 'rua&pjyevnxaxmia&;twu pptp;& r
t;y; t jywajymi;vrsm;r\yvyr;ci; t u t nay;rt m;v;u qi;i xm;&e?

3? jrermEiivr\$;pijne ,a'or;rm;Y vyuia:uon uvor*vuatmuct z\ t pn;rm;Ei
eiiwum t p;&r [wont z\ t pn;rm;t aeji t qya'or;rm;wi t &yom;jynor;rm;t ay:
pptp;&ru\;veaeon &upu , wrmrrsm;Eiywoul rnoir;rajymqbaeyu , i;w\
u , wi t qyEypun0;ye;rrsm;wi t vw t vyjzpm;Eion t m;avsm;pm (t qy&upu
, wrmrrsm;Eiywoul) v o&i:um;ouao x u qa&; t wuz t m;ay;&e? □

aemu quw 1 - aw!q ar;jre;cu tao;pw (jzp&y 28 c)

(eywrm;on jzp&y 173 c. t u;O;ciypm&i;u&nne;on)

(1)	t rn	,mr;(t rn&i;r [w)
	t ou	19 Ep
	t raxmi	r&
	vr&;	vm; [
	bmom	c&p, me
	t vyt ui	v, orm;
	ae&y	vm; [&m/ ri;qw
	t ci;jzpc	1991 cEp rwv 8&u
	e t z wy	cv& 49/ wyc 3/ ri;qwrn

“wpnrm usre!uroi,ci;Epa,mu A',:u n;y; t rjyecuyw,? urw!u
vr;r u aerjyeb ,mci;awujzwy; jyevmcyw,? vr;rm ri;qwrn!ta!cpu cv& 49/
wyc 3 u ppom;wpa, mue!yuyi;wyw,? ou usruzr;qvuy; uroi,ci;awu
armi;xwyw,? uroi,ci;Epa,mu uvn; a:umut m;ve!tm;e! &mbuu aiy;u
w,? usrvn; 'axmu;y; usubmrrvyz! awmi;yeyw,? 'ayr, ou uru
'&wwuvr;ab; qcy; rw&m;usi;w,?

“'vjzpcy;waemuawm usr&&nre;cuaw t m;v; o xa&oejzpm;cyw,?
t m%myiawu wi:um;ciayr, vn; pptp;&& ppwyu usr a:umuaeyw,? t&iwe;u
wcwaw aci;u uwmaw/ aci;r;wmaw jzpwwayr, t "ry!u;ic&y;waemurmawm t '
a0'emawu yy;q;vmcyw,? nbuawrmvn; tyr&awmb;? pw xrm 'jzp&yq;u
pO;pm;rwi; t &r;cpm;&w,? a, mu sm;wi;u a:umu om;wt xy y?

“usr& rom;pu usrtay: em;vnrray;cu b;? az;rrvn; r&cb;? owa&m
uroi,ci;awuy uru t xit jriao;woabmr!e! tzurvy;uawmb;? urt z!
t x;usejzpy; t &r;y pwqi;&c&w,? t 't cœu 1991 cEp/ usr ri;qwt x uwe;
aumi;rm 10 we;wuaew t cey? pmar;yajzce;usr rw&m;jy/usicc&awm pwnpnpe! usr
pmar;yrajzpcawmy;b;? 'jzp&yq;u usr& b0wu vr;aw t m;v;u izz;uypvuwmyy?

(2)	t rn	ee;ci (t rn&i;r [w)
	t ou	17 Ep
	t raxmi	r&
	vr&;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	t vyt ui	v, orm;

ae&y aemi v&m/ em0r typ/ ri;ye rle ,
 t ci;jzpcæ 1991 cEp Zev 17 &u
 et z wy cr& 332/ wyc 4/ Av}u; armiarmip;

1991 cEp Zev 17 &uae}wi Av}u;armiarmip; 0;aqmiaom cr& 332/ wyc 4 r
 tit m; 50 ce}wywpwyon ri;yer}tjyibuol ui;vnxuv m:uon? ee;ci
 wpa, muwn; ol, mci;r &mo}jyevmae onu xwyraw}om;uon? ee;cion
 olrbrm; , mci;riyervmr npm}u}wic}uy}w&Ei t jcm; trrupr m; vyaqmi&etwu
 apmapm jyevmc}ci;jzpon? tqyppwyu ee;ciuaw}onEi ar;ce;r m; quwuar;jre;
 y;aemu , i;w}Eitwac}aqmiom;con? na&muaomvn; ort m; jyevwray;uac?
 “we}tww xri;vmpm;? xri;pm;y;&i i;w}vn; t'&muom;r,” [ajm:uyon?
 ee;ciu xri;rpm;b wpa, muwn; xiaecyon? pwxwium; 0;ren;y; a:umuae
 on? ppom;r m; xri;pm;y;om;ontcwi Av}u;jz pou , i;w}ae&mrm yityrn [
 ee;ci t m; ajymon? “ t ceu quom;zaumi;wt cer [wawmb;” [, i;uajymon?

xolajymvuon u:um;onEi ee;civn; a:umut m;ve}t m;Ei iawmon? ppAvu
 tem;olw;vm;y; ee;ciu i,at m[pumtutnawmi;aeon:um;ryi ol t m; rw&m;
 yu:icon? ppAvu “tru jyeciw, / rbawe}jyeaw}ciaow, q&i rat me} ivn;
 rie? ajymv}r&&i eiu 'awmxrmyw}own;ypowvur,? eiu,ei ±mxrm a&muae
 w, xiv}vm;” [ajymum }cr;ajcmucyon? tqy ppwyu ee;ciu 4 nEi 5 &u
 :umat mi zr;xm;y; aemuq;r ee;ci .&m tjyibu t e;wi jyevway;cyon?

ee;ci ajm uom;ontcæwi ol t m; jrermppwyr ac}aqmiom;ci;yijzprn [
 &mom;r m;u xixm;uyon? tb,a:umiqao m , i;w}. , mci;r m; t e;w0uwi
 jrermppom;r m; . ppzey&mrm;uaw}cu&lzpyon? ee;ci.rbrm; jyevmontc
 ee;ciu raw&ojzi zci}zpo v;q& (43 Ep) u au;&mv}u;jzpo v;uE xol
 ta:umi;um;c yon? xtc} v;uE u ee;ci.zciu au;±m typou; v;peynm
 xac:om;y; wi:um;apcyon? xuol au;&mv}u;a&m/ typou;y; oae:uaomvn;
 ee;ciaymuq;rEiywoul rnour} bmrirvycb ee;ci jyevmrn tæuom
 apmiae:uyon?

ee;ci jyea&muvmontcwi olrbrm;u jzpa:umi;uepi ajymjyyon? x}aemu
 pwxcu0;ren;um 2 &u 3 &uce} ty&mxvcyon? x}aemu ol}aqr}r m;u
 ri;yeaq;&ol}ac:om;y; q&m0erm;Ei pr;oyppaq;riyvycyon? q&m0eu ta:um
 aq;wpv;x;ay;y; aq;&wi 2 &u:um uorc, apcyon? aq;&rqi;vm;y; &mwi 25 &u
 ce}ae&yon? r m;r:umrmyi aqr}r m;jzpon pi;rmv m/ ee;xejriw}Eitw xi;Eii
 olxucmcyon? xtc}erpl ee;cion xi;Eiiwi aexicum Tae&mrm yitraxmius
 cyon?

(3) trn em;av (trn&i;r [w)
 t ou 26 Ep
 traxmi &? 6 Ep t & , Ei 9 Ep t & , uav; Ep0;&
 vr} vm; [
 bmom c&p , me

t vyt ui	v , orm;
ae&y	vm; [&m/ ri;qw
t ci;jzpcæ	1992 cEp arv
et z wy	cr& 333/ ri;qw

“ur awmxuwtruav;wpv;rm ur a ,mum;/ uav; Epa ,mue|tw aey
w ,? awmxrmurw&|u|awEm;awu aumi;&yw ,? waeirm ura ,mum;u uav;aw
ac;y; awmxu iuypz|xuom;v| urwpa ,muwn; wxrmuecyw ,? t'tcermy
ri;qwtajcpu cr& 333 u ppom;wpa ,muu urw| ,mci;xa&muvm; iuaymo;aw
cyw ,? urvn; Armva&vnatmirajmwwayr , iuaymo;awjyeawmi;z| iu;pm;
yw ,? ura ,mum;u vr;atmy;ac;ayr , ou t'tcermta0;|u;a&muaeawm ur
atmou rum;&y;b;? t'ppom;u uruzr;cy; atmuvuom;atmiv| ajcaxmu
awu ueyw ,? aemuawm ajcaxmuawuy cyvuyw ,? urvn; &or|tm;e| fle;y;
vwa|tm|u|pm;ayr , ou urxu tm;|u;awm rvwyb;? ou uru wpem&cavmu
:umatmi rw&m;u;icyw ,?

“ura ,mum; jyevmwtc| tu\$;ta:umi;u jyeajmcyw ,? t'rm oupwq;y;
urru a'low|u;e|uawmwmy? cvrw&m;usicc&v| ure| ura ,mum;& ,/ uav;aw
& , trrm tci;ci;quqa& t&r;uq;om;c&y;y? a ,mum;ua&m uav;awuy uru
“t&y;ur æ oy -ciae&i awmxrm wwpv;x;ay;xm;r ,? t'rm om;--ac” qwm
r|aw ae|wi;ajymæ:uw ,? t'vajymwaw ur t&r;pwxcuw ,/ aemuq; b ,vr
quy;on;rcEiawmb ur a ,mum;e|um&i;cyw ,? aemuyi; uav;awe|aw|civ|
tru om;ayr , uav;awu ‘t&y;ur æ ei iwtarr [wb;? iwtqb ,awmr
rvmc|’ v|ajm;y; Eixw:uyw ,? ura ,mum;u vn; ‘u , u , u rxe;or;b wjcm;
a ,mum;e|azmujew ,? ei i|re;r r [wawmb;? ccuci; truxuom;” qy; armi;xw
cyw ,? aemuq;awmurvn; xi;Ei iuv mzi q;jzw c&yw ,?”

(4) trn	ee;ue (trn&i; r [w)
t ou	16 Ep
traxmi	r&
vr\$;	&r;
bmom	A'bmom
t vyt ui	v , orm;
ae&y	eraem&m/ Orupau\$;&m typ/ vi;ac;r e ,
t ci;jzpcæ	1992 cEp:o*wv 24 &u
et z wy	wyc 3/ cv& 99/ Av u; armip;

,mxY|upuae:uon ee;ue Ei o|tar ypm (38 Ep)w|u Av|u;armip;
O;aqmion ppom; 5 a ,muu ui;vn&i;r aw|om;cy|on? wyom; 4 a ,muu ypm u
tjcm;wpae&m o|qac:om;y;aemu Oi;Oe;l r'r;usicuon? wcewn;rmyi or;jzpo
ee;ueu ppAvur'r;uicon? y;om;ont cwi |uyirms;uw ,om;uon? ypm
trjyea&muont c| o|a ,mum; v;cr;t (44 Ep)u jzpyuconrsm;t m; jyeajmijy; on?
v;cr;t vn; pwq;a'loxuaomvn; tjzptyuEiywoul aemuxy
i|&uce|umont x &m o|u; v;te x om;a&murwijzpcy? oom;ajymont cewi

&mo)u;u "jzpjzpci; bma:umi vmrwi&wmv? bmjzpv| tce:umr vm t oay;&wmv?
jzpcwm'avmu:umrawm i;v n; ppwyu om;wi&rm a:umuw , " [jyeajmcyion?

(5) t rn ee;usr (t rn&i; r [w)
t ou 22 Ep
t raxmi r&
vr|; &r;
bmom A'bmom
t vyt ui v , orm;
ae&y em;yezi &m/ ri [i; au;&m typ/ r;er|e ,
t ci;jzpcē 1994 cEp Zviv
et z wy wyc 2/ cv& 64/ t &m&parmin|

t &m&parmin|O;aqmion ppom; av;a , muon vnui;xuvm:u&i;ji
v , ui;xr wi , av;ay:Y tem; , aeon ee;usr u aw|om;uyion? , i;w|on ee;usr
u wpw&m ar;jre;ji;rj|b tem; o|cO;uyvm:u;y;aemu rw&m;yuaiawm on? ppom; 2
a , mur rw&m;usi;y;om;wtcewi ee;usr . tar tou 38 Ep&o yne| u "a [m'rm
Armppom;aw uror;u r'r;usiae:uyw , ? u , :uyO;" [us , avmipmatmvuon?
x o|a t m [ponu ppom;rm;-um;om;aom t c| yne| u aoewji0i;cey;
owararom;on t x |uEu:uyion? ppom; 3 a , muu ee;usr u aemuwp|urxyl
t "rusic:u;y;aemu :cxwipuxm;aom yv i;aro;/z&o; rm;u c; , om;uyion?

yne| u jzpy:uconEiywou;y; &mo)u; v;brm xwi:um;con? ±mo)u;u
au;&m typO u |u wi:um;ay;rn [uway;cyion? o|&mwi rno|r;x;jcm;ji; r&cy?

(24) t rn em;v (t rn&i; r [w)
t ou 21 Ep
t raxmi r&
vr|; vm; [
bmom c&p , me
t vyt ui v , orm;
ae&y vm; [&m/ ri;qwr|e ,
t ci;jzpcē 1997 cEp {yv
et z wy ri;qwt ajcpu t ajrmuwy&i;

"usrw|ar;xm;w u|awu usrwaueaumi;&yw , ? wp&urm aeji;ve;v|
usrvn; yiye;wme| trjyevmcyw , ? tra&muwme| wc;awywy; tyvuuyw , ? usr
tyaym om;w tcerm ri;qwt ajcpu t ajrmuwy&i;u ppom;wpa , muu tre&u
aumwu;y; usr&| tce;xu ce0ivmyw , ? usrveE;om;y;unvuawm t 'ppom;u
tce;xma&muaewm aw|vu&yw , ? usrujiwme|wy|ieu ou usruce ty; zr;cl;y
vuuyw , ? usr at my;tut nawmi;ayr , b , ora&murvmyb;? aemuq;awm t '
ppom;u usru t "rusiyawmw , ? t "rusi;y;om;wtcerm usrvn; uymu , mx/ "m;
wpacmi;u &mvu;y; u , u , u umu , vu&yw , ?

“urw| vm; [&rmu vwi; ow&E awmi, mawxrm waeue t vy vy:uy
w, ? 'ja:umi ae|ci; buq ±rmvr&y|b;? naeapmi; v| urw|&mv}u; , mxu jyea&mu
vmwtc| uru jzpy:ucyawu jye;ajymjycyw, ? ouvn; pptp;&a'ocppwyu
t&m& u om;y; wi:um;cyw, ? 't| t'ppAvu uru t"ru:icwppom; u |u;wyy;
¶uEuyw, ? y;awm tcyaxmixxnvyw, ? ur&E rom;pu uru t&r; *¶pu
:uyw, ? b0u t¶;ray;zn; un:uyw, ? uruvn; t¶;ray;y|b;? u , awmi , m
t vyu }u|;pm;vycyw, ?”

- (53) trn em;&(trn&i; r [w)
t ou 29 Ep
traxmi &/ om; 2 a , mu or; 1 a , mu . rci
vr|; vm; [
bmom c&p , me
t vyt ui v , orm;
ae&y vm; [&m/ ri;wr|e ,
t ci;jzpcæ 1998 cEp Zv iv 16 &u
et z wy ri;w t ajcpwy

“t'ae|u nae 5 em&avmurm ur , mxu jyevmcyw, ? trujewvr;rm
ri;wtajcpuppwyu ppom;wpa, mue| om;awjyw, ? urvn; æ:umuwmel olu
aoaocmcawmi r:uny|b;? 'jyr, ou urvuuclyvuy; ±mbuqurom;Ei
atmi wm;xm;yw, ? y;awm “rom;&b;? eiu ay;rjeb;” v| ajym; ur&| &iom;u ui
yw, ? urvn; t&r;æ:umu; atmawm ou uru vr;ab;qcvuyw, ? uru
uru rEypuz| 'axmu;y; awmi;yeayr, ou ur ajymwu v;0em;raxmi/*¶rpub
uru om;r, m; jylusiyw, ? ur t&r;æ:umuom;yw, ? 'ja:umi t'vr;ab;rm tæ
awmawm:umatmi owvpom;yw, ? owjye&awm n 7 em&avmu jzpaey|y? wpc|r
t'avmu trjyeamuruz;y|b;? 'ja:umir| tru tjreijecyw, ? trmawm pwyaw
uruav;awel urciye;u p;&rw|u;el apmiae:uyw, ? urvn; iy;awm uru
apmum;vuwmawu jyeajymjycyw, ? ura, mu:m;u &mv}u;q om;wiyw, ? 'jyr,
uruapmum;wppom; [m b , wy&i;u/ emrnb , ovqwmaw ur rovl urw|bmr
rvyEi:uy|b;?

- (112) trn ee;o , (trn&i; r [w)
t ou 18 Ep
traxmi r&
vr|; &r;
bmom A'bmom
t vyt ui v , orm;
ae&y be|a&mi;&m/ Orvm;aus;&m typ/ vcm;:r|e ,
(be|a&mi;&m on 16/ 4/ 1997 ae|wi ajymi;a&icc&on &mjzpon)
t ci;jzpcæ 1997 cEp ar v 16 &u
et z wy wyc 2/ cr& 515/ Av}u; xe;a t mi

pptp;& ppwyr wyom; 60 avmuon vcm;r|r Orvm;&mbuo| vnui;
 xuvm:uyion? &m|a&muvm|onEi &mxrttrm;u Oia&mu&maz:uyion? xtcewi
 &mom;trm;prm ,i;w|.awmi,mrm;o| a&mu&ae:u;y; ee;o,onvn; trwi
 wpa,muwn;jzpaeyion? rbrm;r&b ee;o,wpa,muwn;&aeonu ppAvjri
 ontqY bmrar;jre;b trxo|Oici;yion? ee;o,.pwxwi ppAvon trxY
 &maza&vyvaoma:umi o|utrxac;ici;jzpon[xivuyion? o|aom tyce;x
 a&muonEi ppAvu ee;o,.vuuclyy; uixm;onypwEiceum tcr;ajcmu yion?
 ou ee;o,.ez;u aoewEicexm;y; "ratme| aoom;r," [ajmyion? x|aemu reu
 9em&celron re;wn 12 em&cavmu t x rw&m;jy|u:icyion?

naebu rbrm; jyea&muvmontq ee;o, u i,y; tu|ta:umi; ajmyjy
 on? jzpyucyawu ovu&ontqY tou 57 Ep&yjzpo ,i;.zci v;cr;re; u
 au;&m Ou| v;apmEi &y±mv}u; w|u wi:um;cyion? aemu Ep&u t:umwi ,i;w;o;O;
 on vi;ac;r|t m%myirm;xwi:um;&etwu ee;o,Eitw om;cuyion? vi;ac;
 t m%myirm;u a'ocppwyrwyr|; Av|u;armiax;t m;ze;quum t jzptyuu
 aq;aE;cyion? Av|u;u t "rjy|u:icou jyoci;&e ee;o,u pppce; o| vmci;yion?
 ppom;rsm;u we;prwww&yapy; ee;o, u jyocaomvn; xtxwi Av|u;xe;atmiu
 raw|&ontqY Av|u;armiax;u ,i;w| av;O;u '%ai to;o;wyvuyion? ee;o,
 Ei v;ci w|Epa,mur wpa,muv|i uy 30000 p| au;&mOu| v;apm u uy 20000 Ei
 ee;o,.taz v;cr;re; u uy 15000 to;o;ay;aqmicu&yion? tu,l x
 '%a;u;airm;u ray;aqmiEiyu wpa,muv|i axmi 10 Epp crn [qcyion?

xu|jzpyucy;aemu ee;o, on 3 vr| ty,mxvcy; wjzn;jzn;ci;r
 jyevnue;rmvmcon? o.aqr|om;ci;rsm;u vn; jzpyuconEi ywoul
 pwraumi;jzpy; unaz;rcuyion? o|aomvn; ppom;rsm;wi aoewEi
 t m%mw|&ae;ci;a:umi ,i;w| taeji ,cxuylvn;rno| r| rvyaqmiEiawm ay?

(119)	t rn	ee;& (t rn&i;r [w)
	t ou	16 Ep
	traxmi	r&
	vr ;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	t vy t ui	v ,orm;
	ae&y	[yi&m/ ([yi&m on 27/ 8/ 1997 ae wi ri;ui:r e , [riiaus;&m typ o ajymi;a& ci; cc&on)
	t ci;jzpcæ	2000 jynEp Zviv 20 &u
	et z wy	wyc3/ cr& 514/ Av u; oe;armi

2000 jynEp ZvivxY titm; 50 - 55 ce|&on ppwywpz on [yi
 au;&m te;wiui;vnum awmi,mxo| wwwqwvma&muon &mom;rsm;&r& vu
 :unaeyion? Av|u;oe;armiu ee;& u awmi,mxY jriaw|vu&aom tci ,mxr
 wwpv;qo| ac:vuyion? wo|a&muontci ou " ,mxvmwe;u b ,o aw
 y|ov" [ar;yion?

ee;& u "u:r taze t w v m w m y? tazu t c a&om;cy aeyw," [jye a j y i o n?
x o l a j m v u o n t c y A v } u ; o e ; a r m i u e e ; & t m ; w x 0 i c i ; u m a o e w j z i c e l
r w & m ; y u i c y o n ? r e u 10 e m & r r e ; v 3 e m & t x r w & m ; y u i c & m e e ; & u i ,
a w m i ; y e c a o m v n ; 3 e m & x ; t x j y e r v w a y ; c y ?

t c i ; j z p y m ; y ; a e m u e e ; & u a q r ; o m ; c i ; r m ; E i a u ; & m O u i ũ j y e v n
w i ; u m ; c a o m v n ; , i ; w r p p w y o ! r w i ; u m ; & u a y ? w & m ; o j z i z p o n u j r i v : u a o m v n ;
T u o l a o m t r r ; u t j c m ; o r m ; w i w e ; z : u a : u m i ; E i w i w e ; o r m ; o n p p w y o ! '% a i
10000 t w i ; t u y a y ; a q m i c i ; c i ; c c & o n u o & x m ; u a y o n ? j z p y ; u c y ; a e m u e e ; &
o n r r b m o m r o y a e c & a w m o n ? r n o e r t r q u q c i / r n o l u r t r a w i c i j z p o m ; c o n ?
o . r o m ; p u o l t a y : e m ; v n r & u y ; * f l p u : u y o n ?

(133) t r n e e ; , 0 (t r n & i ; r [w)
t o u 18 E p
t r a x m i r &
v r ; & r ;
b m o m A ' b m o m
t v y t u i a p ; o n / t x u w e ; a u m i ; o
a e & y a p ; & y u u / u i ; a w m i ; r r ; e n e , ?
t c i ; j z p c e 2001 c E p Z e e 0 & v
p p w y u e [e ; t a j c p u c v & 246 / w y r l ; j r i 0 ; t & m & p e ; 0 i ; y

ee; , 0 o n a p ; q i y i & i v ; o m E i y a u m i ; w i . 18 E p & , o r ; j z p o n ? v ; o m E i
y a u m i ; w i o n q e l / q / y / a j m i ; t p & o n u e a j c m u r m ; a & m i ; c : u o n ? e e ; , 0 o n
u i ; w r t x u w e ; a u m i ; w i w u a & m u a e o j z p l & r ; p u m ; t j y i j r e r m p u m ; u y j a j m w w
a v o n ? p p t p ; & p p w y r p p o m ; r m ; o n p p w y r t a j c c p m ; u e r m ; u j y e v n a & m i ; c & e E i
, i ; w i . c w r ; y p n ; r m ; r t y a i & & e x q i o l v m a & m u a v & y o n ? t & m & p e ; 0 i ; y t y t 0 i
c v & 246 r p p o m ; r m ; u e e ; , 0 t m ; , i ; w w y r x w a y ; o n & u m y p n ; r m ; u a p ; a y a j z i
& e w y x w i v m 0 , z i z w a c : u o n ?

2001 c E p Z e e 0 & v x w i e e ; , 0 o n p p w y x o l w p a , m u w n ; a & m u o m ; c o n ?
w y x w i A v r l ; / A v } u ; / w y o m ; t r m ; p o n v n u i ; x u a e : u l p c e ; Y r & u a : u m i ; u a w i &
o n ? o l a o m t & m & p e ; 0 i ; y E i t j c m ; w y o m ; t c l & a e : u o n ? p c e ; w i ; o l e e ; , 0 w p 0 ; w n ;
a & m u o m ; a o m t c l t & m & p e ; 0 i ; y E i w y o m ; 10 a , m u w u e e ; , 0 u a c : x m ; v u : u o n ?
x l a e m u e e ; , 0 u j y e r v w b a v ; & u v ; v ; t " r j u i c u y o n ? o l r o m ; p u v u v & m a z
c u j y ; a e m u a v ; & u a j r m u o n a e i w i r j y e v n v w a j r m u v m c o n ? j y e v w v m o n t c y
a u ; & m O u i x o l w i : u m ; c y o n ? a q r ; j z p o o e m j y l w p a , m u x w i v n ; a q ; p p c u ,
x m ; c : u o n ?

a u ; & m O u i ũ e e ; , 0 . v i d a & t w u p ; & r a o m a : u m i " e i r m w j c m ; a e p & m a e & m & i
o m ; y ; a e y v m ; ? a j m i ; a e v i & r , q & i v n ; a j m i ; a p c i w , ? ' p p o m ; a w e l x y y ; r a w i w m
a u m i ; r , " [a j m y o n ? x l a : u m i e e ; , 0 v n ; n b u a & m u v i t j c m ; a q r ; w p a , m u .
t r o l o m ; t y c . ? o l r b r m ; u v n ; e e ; , 0 . v i d a & t w u p ; & r : u o n ? o l a o m v n ;
a e m u x y t a E m i t , u a y ; r r m ; j z p a y : v m r n u p ; & r a o m a : u m i p p w y u t r w 0 : u a y ? j y e

vwvmy; 10 &ut:umwi ee;, 0. taru o!u xi;Eiibuolac:vmcyon? To!
jzpy:ucji;twu &mom;rm;u ppom;rm;tay: tvea'io xuy; jypwiajmqcuyon?
au;&mOuir &more;ryav;rm;t m; :oO!ay;ontcwi;wi re;uav;rm;u ee;, 0bmaw
jzpy:uconu , i; t m; jyevnajmqav&uon?

(135) trn tmy(trn&i;r[w]
t ou 24 Ep
traxmi 14 Ept&, wi traxmiuc/ tci;rjzpr 2 Epuciye; u , ved
t ou 3 Ept&, om;wp0; &on?
vr!; tcj
bmom c&p , me
tvytui v , orm;
ae&y Ory;c&m/ eray;i au;&m typ/ wmc:vwr!e ,
tci;jzpcce 2001 cEp azazm0&v
ppwy cr& 359/ wmc:vwr!e ,
rwc:u t ou 10 Ept&, wi t}u;tus , zm;emcojzi r;v on
ajcaxmuwpyi;aocy;aemuwivr;aumi;aumi;rav#uEiawmy?

r'r;usirc&rEpEpcel u tmy. ciye; t m;c (30 Ep)on ppom;rm;.
¶uEura:umi aodq;c&on? , i; t m; ay:wm txr;orm;tjzp aciaqmiom;cici;jzpy; tmy
taeji rnonppwyuowjzwnon/ rnonae&mwiaodq;conwu ro&&y?
ciye;on r&ontwu tmy on , i;w&mrem&Oucejav#mu&ona&mo!om;l
wpa,muwn; awmi,mvyuipm;aomu &on? 2001 cEp azazm0&v/ ae!wae!wi
wmc:vwtajcpu cr& 359 r ppom; 7 a , muce! orxo! a&mu&vmy; aowjziceum
yprn[cr;ajmucuon? Armpum;rajmwwojzi ppom;rm;ajmaompum;u
em;rvcov tmy ajcaxmuwpacmi;vn; roeaoma:umi xuraj;Eiay? x!a:umi
ppom;rm;u wpem&ce!umatmi typvu r'r; jylusicuon? ±mom;wp0;u tmy.
atmou:um;&y; un&ejy;vmcon? x±mom;t m; jriontcwir , i;ppom;rm;u
&ywe!um ae&mrxuom;cun?

tmyutjzptyuu au;&mOui x wi:um;con? uaumi;axmuojzi
a0'em tzm;t emrcpm;c&aomvn; , i; t m; aw!qar;jre;ccewi orY u , 0e o;v &&ae
jzpon? r'r;usic&y; Ep&ut:umwi pptp;&wyEi &r;wyzw! wuyjzpy;caoma:umi
tmy taeji aq;0;ppaq;uoa&u rvyaqmiEicay? ow! aexionau;&mon
jrermppwyEi e;uyojzi A;o! ayuuorm;u te;uy:um;aec&on? x!aemuwir
xi;e , pya'oEia0;aom &r;jyntwi;yi;ae&mwpa&mo! o . om;i , / aqr!;rm;Ei tw
twi;tuya&ajymi;cc&on? xae&mw! av; i!;&uce!ae;y;aemu e , py& IDP pce;o!
a&mu&con? o . rbrm;on wp±mw n;Ytwraeaoma:umi tre;ci;jzpo . rom;pEi
twwu xpce;o! xucmvmcici;jzpon?

r;r&maomae!rm;wi tmy on aexi&mpce;r vuzuci;wpcolom;l tvy
vyon? xo!tvyom;ontc! tjcm;orm;xu cyapmapm;om;av&on? ta:umi;rm
o!ajcaxmuwpacmi;roeaoma:umi jzn;jzn;omav#uEiontjyi tvy&&etwu
vn; tceapmapma&muc:iaoma:umijzpon? vuzuc;crm wpuvv;i o;bwjzpy; o!

twu xtvyr wpaēvī bw 30 - 40 cēon? tvy&maz:uonvrm tveyi
rsm;jm;aeojzi oītm; awīqarjre;contcēumvu tmy tztvytuir&
onaē&urm;jzpacon?

oīwi u, Oē&aea:umi; oontcwi tre;ci;rm;u a, mu;wpā, mua, mu
Ei traxmijy&e wuwe;uon? “u:rrm Armppom;ē&wu, Oē&aewmuo&i uru
b, ou vuxyrmv” [tmy u ajymon? ppom;wpa, muu vuxyrn qvīvn;
a, mu; . vīdā&twu p;ryyē&0;rnijzpy; awmxawmixoī waumuaumu
vuyae&rnuprm oītwujzap/ uav;twujzap tE&m, &aoma:umivurxyvay?
“u:rwīb0 tawm cucr, qwmawmoyw, ? 'jāyr, uruav;uvn; yax;ērxm;ci
b;? wcīa, mu;aw [m re;rawuc;payr, yīvmwom;or;awuawm rcpb;? wu, vī
ur traxmijyr, q&i um&i;zīuawm cuvrr, ” [ou ajymjycon?

aemutcutcwpcrm tmy on ynmrwwontji &r;pum;uvn; °u, 0 pm
rajymww&may? “tcupu urb, vvy&r, qwmvn; urroyb;” [ouajymon?
oītaēzi ciye;jzpoaoq;y;aemuyi;wi rbEijyevnaexijci; rjycay? zci;jzpo uvn;
wuyrm;jzpy;y; ra&raEmi;ryi zm;emum u, vecon? rci;jzporn oīxotvn
vm&i; &r;&mom;wp0;Ei v u xy&e pce;wiaexivīu&on?

tmy rvaexicaom au; &mon jrermppwyEie;y; wuyjzpyqonEi jrerm
ppom;rm; . Eixuuviyīru cpm;&aoma'ojzpon? ppwytaēzi &mom;rm;t m; aywm
txr;orm;rm;tjzp t"rci;apouoī aetrsm;r uī Em;/ tpm;taomu/ traxmi ypn;
Opmrm;uvn; t"r, iicuon? rnorn0ī twtusrajmEiaomvn; ,i; .±mr
tjcm;aom trī;or;rm;onvn; jrermppom;rm; .r'r;jyīu;iru c&Eion [tmy u
, qon?

(136)	t rn	ee;a&(trn&i;r [w)
	t ou	18 Ep/ ti, q;or;
	traxmi	r&
	vrī;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	tvyt ui	pwwwē;au;mi;o/ v, orm;
	ae&y	aemiawm0&m/ aemi vaus;&m typ/ v i;ac;rīe ,
	tci;jzpcē	2001 cEp rwv 29 &u
	ppwy	wyc 4/ cr& 525/ Av)u;pjri

18 Ept&, & ee;a&on Em;au;mi;&etwu ,i;wī. awmi, mqoī xuvmcon?
xtcēwi cr& 525 wyc 4 r Av)u;pjri 0;aqmiaomwyzionui;vnm&i; ee;a&t m;
awmi, mxwiawīom;cūon? Av)u;jzpo ee;a&t m; oīxac:vuy; tem;a&muon
tcY zr;ciyum r'r;jyīu;icon? ee;a&u i, um [patmcaomvn; ppAvjzpo r'r;
ui;y;ontcēuawmr vwajrmuc&on? jzpy;uytm;v;u ee;a&u aqrī;om;ci;rm;
tm; jyeajymjyontcē ,i; . 0;av;jzpo v;atmaZ, s u au; &muīEi au;±mv)u;rm; x
om;a&muwi:um;con? &r;vrī;&t&m&wp0;u v;atmaZ, s tm; xtrejwouy;
quvu wi:um;rrsm;rjyīvy&e/ t b, a:umiqaom &mom;rm;bur ±;vrrnjzpy;

Av)u;p;ri uawm bmrjzpvrrnr [wa:umi;zi ajmqcon? , i;jzp&yr;m;
jzpy:ucy;aemu ee;a&on &ujci/ a'oxujci/ Or;en;ji;r;m;u cpm;c&y; aemuq;wi
orone , pyu jzwau smv;u xi;Eiio! xucmvmcon?

(138) t rn ee;r; (t rn&i; r [w)
t ou 5Ep
t raxmi r&
vr!; &r;
bmom A'bmom
t vyt ui ro&&
ae&y bmqm&m/ u!i;awmi;r!; r;r!e ,
t ci;jzpcæ 2001 cEp rww
ppwy jrermEi i t v , yi; rwwmEi jri;c t ajcpu cv& 99/ bmqm
&m pce;op

ee;r;on ,i;. rbrm;jzpaom v;avmO! ycr;qmwEi tw bmqm&m
wiaexion? 2001 cEp rwwwi rbjzpor;m; awmi , mxo!om;uontcæY trwi
t ou 5 Ep om&ao;onee;r;Ei t ou 12 Ept& , tprjzpou;omuæcon? xnwi
tprjzpou fly&iom;unon? fly&iu n 9 em&x;r y;rnjzpy; , i;wæxiaom tron
tjcm;æ t rrm;Ei t awm t vr;umaO;on? trwi ee;r; wpa , muwn; ueæ&pcon?

n 7 em&ce!wi cv& 99 r ppom;wpO; a&muvmon? ou ee;r;. ajc vuwiu
}u!;jiwyaEmi;y;aemu r'r;ji;usicon? fly&iom;unontprjzpo jjevmaom t c
ee;r; t m; }u!;r;m;wyaEmixm;v;u i , aeon uawi&y; re;rt*wi v n; ao;r;m;ayus
aeon? te;tem;wivn; rno!ur;raw&ay? wpa , mua , muu wiwe;cv!i
owyprn [jrermppom;u;cr;ajcmucoji ee;r;on jzpy:ucyu tprjzpot m; jyerajm
jyEiavmuatmiyi æumuve! aeon? tre;ci;tr!;or;wpO;a&muvmy;aemu ee;r; t m;
nwi;ci; aq;flyaiy;con? jzpyuyt v;pEiywoul q&mOeu t&pe!umajmijcy;
oemiyq&mrjzpou pwyom;on re;rt*tm; ciyay;con? , i;w!r aq;O!;uorrm;
quvuylvyay;contji rwwr; , &etwu "mwyr;m;fly , :uon? q&mOeEi
q&mrrm;u T tjzptyuEiywouy; ouqi&mO! , i;w! owi;y;rnjzpa:umi; ajmqc
:uon?

ee;r;. rbrm;on aus;&mOu!xo! om;a&muwi:um;caomvn; , i;w! .
rauëycu Eiywoul ppwytm; om;a&muwi:um;&eur æumuve!cuon? , i;w!
taeji uav;r;m; . vica&twup;&raey; rrw!on t rrv trrxuum wpaëue
t vyxuvyae:u&ji;a:umi ppwyr tro!vma&muumv , uzuq;om;Eionu p;r
xwve!æ:uayon? &mom; t r;m; t jym;u t u , l rbrm;om trwi&aeyu ee;r;
, cuo! r'r;usic&rnr [w [, q:u;y; , i;jzp&yEiywoul rbjzpow!tm; t jypz!
ajmqcuon?

(140) t rn ee;jr (t rn&i; r [w)
t ou 19 Ep
t raxmi r&
vr!; &r;

bmom	A'bmom
tvytui	v ,orm;
ae&y	ue;qm&m/em;ceau;&m typ/r;erle ,
tci;jzpcæ	2001 cEp {yv 16 &u
ppwy	wyc 3/ cr& 248/ Av}u; vaz

cr& 248/ wyc 3 r wyom;rm;ui;vnnonvr;aumi;ay:wi&ona'owi tou
 19 Ep&, &eejron 2001 cEp {yv 16 &uae}u trwiwpa, muwn;&aeon??
 ui;vnvmon ui;wyzrl; Av}u;vazu eejrwp, muwn;&aeonu aw}om;on
 tçwi ,i;u eejrte;ola&muvm; “wvwxu wyom;wpa, mu aymuom;v/
 ri;w}trxrm ye;aw, xiw, ” [qon? trx0i&m&rn [ajym; ,i;u trxo}Oivm
 um eejrurn; oEitwvuvme treay;con? tyce;xolac;aqmiom;y;aemuwi
 tyce;xY rw&;yusicon? r'r;usi;aemu eejrqxmaom a&q}ul;u jzlw ,om;on?
 q}ul;rm tav;ce 1 bwom;ce} &y; xi; bwai 5000 wea:u;&on? eejrtaezi &uci/
 jrermppom;rm; . vuwjyernua:umuci;wa:umi tm%myirm;tm; wi:um;qci;r&y?
 wpa, muwn; uwrwcpm;&ozi wzn;jzn;yec}vm; aemuq;wi tzm;'%Ei
 tom;Oia&m*uy cpm;c&on? o. aqr}om;ci;rm;u Oi;Oe;*fpu:uaomvn; oEi
 appyxm;on pi;re; u vma&mu:unf}qci; r&ay? xol r'r;usicc&ci;aumi ,i;w
 appya:umi;vr;xm;ru jyevnzuor;c&y}on?

(144) trn	ee;awmi; (trn&i;r [w)
tou	12 Ep
traxmi	r&
vr};	&r;
bmom	A'bmom
tvytui	v ,orm;
ae&y	bmqm&mb&m;r we [e; &mo}om;onvr; / u}i;awmi;r/ r;erle ,
tci;jzpcæ	2001 cEp {yv
ppwy	jrermEi i t v ,yi;rwvmEi jri;c t ajcpu cv& 99 . u}i;awmi;pce;opl r;erle ,

tou 12 Ept&, ⅇawmi; on we [e; &mwi rbrm;jzpo v;rmvmEi yte
 wEitw aexion? or i ,p0uwn;u rupxcucoji aumi;aumi;rjri&ay? 2001
 cEp {yvwi we [e; &om;rm;on r;erle , / u}i;awmi;jr} bpm&mb&m;ol
 b&m;z;om;cuon? orvn; &mr olxu}u;orm;Eitw vrav}mu;y;
 b&m;olom;a&muc on? trtjyec&wir oi ,ci;wpa, muEitw jyevmcon? cv&
 99 r ppom;wp0;u ,i;w}uaw}om;y;aemu ,i;u ee;awmi;tm; zr;q;um r'r;usi&
 }ul;pm;con? ee;awmi; . oi ,ci;jzpo u aumua:umu vev}Ei xuaj;om;aomvn;
 ee;awmi;rmr ruv; raumi;ozi vwajrmuatmi raj;Eiay? orvn;
 vwajrmuatmi}e;xuaj;aomvn; cvwwul ajr}u;ay:ol vu:con? ppom;u
 ortm;zr;ciyum r'r;usi& xyr}ul;pm; jyeavon? xtcewi we [e; &mr bmqm&mo}
 pub;jixuvmo tr}or;wp0;u aw}om;on? ,i;ol jriaw}om;awmr ppom;u
 ee;awmi; u jyevway;con?

ppom; jzpor r'r; j\usi&e ratmijricaomvn; ±uywx; Eucon'%a:umi
 ee;awmi;. r;uEmwi ye;ypw; ywum temw&r; m; &&cy; cEmu , wpcv; vn;
 emusic&on? oru t; jzpty; u au; &mOuĩtm; wi:um; cy; &m om; wpO; u u; i; awmi;
 aq; \o! aq; uo&ey; ay; con? aq; \r q&mOewpO; Eioemj\ r; m; u or. '%&m' %c; u r; m;
 u rwwr; wi&e twu "mwy ±ucon?

ee;awmi;. rom; pEi au; &mOuĩw on , i; w; t m; j; yevn' uay; rnu p; &rojzi
 ppwyu rwi:um; cay? , ciu r'r; usic∨ m; &cz; &mY ppwyu om; a&m u
 wi:um; caomvn; ta&r , on t; yi wi:um; or; m; u t"r '%\ucojzi ppwytwu
 :uu 10 aumiEi qwp y; ay; c&avon? &m om; tawmr; m; r; m; ur T; jzpy; Eiywoul
 v; u; ryb we [e; o; j; yevmon ee;awmi; uom t; jypwi ajymqcuy; on?

(145) t rn ee; ne(t rn& i; r [w)
 t ou 18 Ep
 t raxmi r&
 vr; &r;
 bmom A'bmom
 t vyt ui v , or m;
 ae&y aemiaum&m/ Oruwau; &m typ/ au; o; r; le ,
 t ci; jzpcæ 2001 cEp arv 1 &u
 et z wy wyc 5/ cr& 424/ Av}u; p; jzL

au; o; r; le , Oruwau; &m typ/ aemiaum&m r tou 18 Ept& , ee; ne| on
 2001 cEp arv 1 &uae; u or. aetrxrmyi Av}u; p; jzL. rw&m; yusiapmum; ci; u
 cc&on? t ci; jzpy; m; y; aemu ee; ne|. zci; zpou au; &mOuĩ v; x; e; v xol om; a&m u
 wi:um; con? x; aemu , i; w; on r'r; r t m; au; o; r; le , t ajcpu cr& 424 r wy& i; r; l;
 Av}u; aom; i; aZmx quvuwi:um; cuon? ee; ne| t; yi t; jcm; r; u; jriouaor& o; jzi
 rno; r; iaqmi& uray; Ei y [wy& i; r; l; u ajymqcon?

(147) t rn ee; azmi(t rn& i; r [w)
 t ou 21 Ep
 t raxmi &
 vr; &r;
 bmom A'bmom
 t vyt ui v , or m;
 ae&y eruw; &m/ ewb , au; &m typ/ erper; le ,
 eruw&m on erper; o; j 1997 cEp rwv 11 &uae; wi
 ajymi; a&ic&on?
 t ci; jzpcæ 2001 cEp arv 18 &u
 et z wy cv& 66/ Av}u; oe; armixe;

2001 cEp arv 18 &uae; wi a'oc wy& i; r; l; Av}u; oe; armixe; u eruw&m r tr; or;
 15 O; t m; ppwy A [ui; w oe& i; a& vy& e qiac:con? tr; or; 15 O; ppwyxol

a&muom;ontc| Av}u; oe;armixe;u ue 14 0;t m; t jcm;aom ppAvrm;. tyce;rm;u om;a&mu&i;vi;apy; ee;azmiur o|tce;u&i;vi;apcon? tce;u oe&i;a&|yvy&e ee;azmi 0ivuo nEi Av}u;oe;armixe;vn; wywn; 0ivuvmy; wc;ay|u u yw&yxm;on? x|aemu ort m; c|yaEmivuon? xtc| ee;azmiu “Av}u; uru t"rusiaeyw,” [atm[pcaomvn; Av}u; oe;armixe;u ort m; y;&uum y;pyuywcy; r'r;|yusicon?

ee;azmiu tro|jyea&muontc| ciye;jzpo pi;yew t m; tu\$;ta:umi; jyeajmycon? xtc| ciye;jzpou au\$;&m Ou|jzpo v;ov, u wi:um;con? au\$;&mOu|u ,i;w| Ep0;t m;ac:um Av}u; oe;armixe;Ei om;a&muaw|qcon? aw|ontc| ee;azmiu “rae|u uru &i tce;xrm rw&u;si cw,” [Av}u; oe;armixe; t m; ajymqcon?

xtc| Av}u;oe;armixe;u “eiu i| t'v vycw, q&i wjcm;oawu bmjzpv| atm; tut nrawmi;cov? wu, v| eiu i|rw&u;si cw, q&i 'vjzpaewmu eie|tww vmw wjcm;re;r 14 a, muu bmjzpv| rjri:u r:um;uov” [jyevnaj:um;cy; ue tr\$;or; 14 a, muuvn; “o|(ee;azmi)u i|r'r;usiaewm eiw|ri:uvm;? jriwv&i vuaxmiypr;” [ar;jre;con? u, wiu, us jricor&ozi rnour; vuraxmi:uy? t m;v;taeji Av}u;oe;armixe;u ,i;. tce;xol ac:aqmion;onuom jriaw|c :u&on? o|twu ee;azmi t m; o|t&ucon [qum '%ai uywpaomi;c ay;aqmi apcon?

xo|jzpcy;aemuwi ee;azmion &u|ci;/ Or;en;|ci;/ xwve|ci;rm;u cpm;c&on? x|a:umi yi pwqi;&l tpm;taomuyuum wririwawaw jzpc&on? ciye;jzpoEi aqr\$;om;ci;rm;u em;vnr&u;y; 0i;0e;az:r:uon? ciye;onuvn; oabmxm; jyn0ojzpon twu jy \ emwpw&mr&b aexic&on? xtjzptyu jzpy m;y; Epv o;v :umaom t c|wir ciye;jzpoEi tw xi;Eiibuol a&mu&aexicuon?

(152)	t rn	ee;te;(trn&i;r [w)
	t ou	27 Ep
	traxmi	&/ om;or;r&
	vr\$;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	t vy t ui	v ,orm;
	ae&y	wma [mi &m/ aemi [; au\$;&m typ r;er e , wma [mi&m on we [e;o 1996 cEp {yv 11 &uae wi ajymi;a&ic&on?
	t ci;jzpc	2001 cEp Zv i v 4&u
	ppwy	ue [e;r t ajcpu cr& 524/ ppæ:umi; 3/ Av}u; xe;0;

2001 cEp Zev 29 &uae|wi etz ppwyr m; we [eyw0e;usio| ui;vnc&m Av}u; xe;0;u ±mxwi ee;te;uaw&om;on? ,i;Av}u;u Av}u;weat mi 0;aqmiaom wyz0i 30 u xa'ow0u ui;vn&e tre|ay;con? &uten;i, :umontc| ou ee;te;.ciye; pi;rmivu au\$;&mOu| v;ri;rwqi ac:vuon? pi;armiv a&mu vmontc| Av}u;xe;0;u “ri;u ac:vu&wupu i|wyom;awe|tw vr;jytjzp

Ep&uavmu vuay;apciivly? om; æ ri;twu v tyr , t o;taqmiypn; aw trrm
jye, vu/ y;awm jyevmc w'uae apmiaer, " [trelay;con? pi;armiv taezi
jii;qeEijci; r&ca;?

Zviv 4 &uae;wi pi;armiv trwi r&ay? , i;u oxm;on Av}u;xe;0;u ee;te;
tm; aw&eom;a&mucy; wpw&mciaawmi;ar;jre;jci;r&b trxx 0icon? "eiw tyce;
xrm bm&v/ vm om;un&at mi" [ac:cyon?

x tci ee;te;u "Av}u;y 0i:u ny" [jyev n ajymqcon?

x tci ppAvu "vmc æ tww om;unr , " ajymon? xjyi ypwaewuxwlvn;
ee;te; . ez;u ce& , cr;ajcmuum tyce;x o qac:cy; r'r;ryusicon? , i;on eeu 10
em&ce;r re;v 3 em&x 5 em&ce; r'r;ryusicon?

pi;armiv jyea&muvmontci ee;te;u jzpyucy tu;ta:umi;rm;tm; jyev najymj
con? x tci pi;armivu au; &m0u iEi &yr&yz wp0;tm; om;a&muwi:um;con?
o laom , i;w'u "cjzpyucwmawel ywou y; rujriouaoqv ri;re;r wpa , muwn;
y &ae;w , ? 'awm w'u t'ppAvu ta& , z }ulyr;r , q&ivn; wibu tEi&rm
r [wb; " [ajymqum ppwy tm; rwi:um; &e qjzwcun?

x tcerpl ciye;jzpu ee;te;tm; "Arm xm; &pwaumir" [ac:a0:con? o laomvn;
Epzu aqr; om;ci;rm;u ee;te;taezi aoewji cr;ajcmuum t "ryusijci;u
cc&jci;om jzpa:umi; / ortaezi rnoir;rwEion tae t xm;jzpa:umi; ee;te;bur
umu , ajymqcuon? 2001 cEp :o*wwwi , i;w Ze;armiE xi;Eiibuol
xucmc:uon?

(155)	trn	ee;at;(trn&i;r [w)
	tou	16 Ep
	traxmi	r&
	vr;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	tvytui	v , orm;
	ae&y	ue;qm&m/ Oraemiue;re;au; &m typ/ erperle , ?
	tci;jzpc	2001 cEp Zviv 16 &u
	ppwy	erperle t ajcpu cv& 524/ ppa:umi; 2/ Av}u; aZmvi

2001 cEp Zviv 16 &uae;wi erperle Oraemiue;re;au; &m typ/ ue;qm&o tou 16
Ep& ee;at;on oraexi&m au; &mEi wpricce; uma0;aom ae&mwi Av}u;aZmvi.
r'r;ryusijci;ucc&on? , i;jzpytm; ee;at;u rnont m%omyirm;u
rwi:um;qci;r&y? tci;jzpy;y; 9 &u 10 &uce; umontci ee;at;on zm;emcy;
pwqi;&rrm;a:umi t tyysu tpm;ysuum t ajctaeyrq;&m;con?

,i;. aqr;rm;u ee;at;t m; erper; aq;fio; yaqmicuon? erpeaq;fwi 5 &uce; aq;uor c, caomvn; rouomojzi v , viaq;fio; quvu yaqmicuon? 10 &u:um aq;uol aq;z; 17000 ce; ueucy;aemuwi ouomum aq;f; rjyeqi;con?

(160) t rn ee;v(t rn&i; r [w)
 t ou 16 Ep
 t raxmi &/ 2 vom; uav;wp0;&
 vr; &r;
 bmom A'bmom
 t vyt ui v , orm;
 ae&y ue;v; r&m/ ue;v;rau;&m t yp/ ue [e;r;le , ?
 ue;v;r &mon ue [e;o; 1996 cEpwi a&ajymi;c&on?
 ue [e;wi 2 Epce;ae xicy; t pm; t aomu/ aia:u; &maz&e
 cucvo jzi 1988 cEpwi ue;v;&m t e;& awmxwi
 t ci;jzpy;ce t x ye;a t mi;aexicon? t ci;jzpy;y;aemu
 e , pyu jzwau;mv;u xi;Eiibuol xucmcon?
 t ci;jzpcæ 2001 cEp:o*ww
 ppwy cr&246

t ou 16 Ep& ee;von vuxyxm;onrm 3 Epce;umjricyzpy; u , 0e 7 v &aep0
 ui;vnppwyu , i;w; Ze;armiEt m; tEi;usiapmum;con? ee;von , i;. ciye;jzpo
 t ou 26 Ep& pi;u% Ei tw , mci;x& wwpv;wi aexicon? 2001 cEp:o*wwwi
 etz ppom;rm; , i;w; , mci;xol a&mu&vm; pi;u% t m; f;uEu n0;ye;um ppar;rm;
 hyvcuon? ppom;rm;u pi;u% . rsuEmut0w;zi pn;l opyiwi cnaEmicuon?
 ppom;rm;u pi;u% t m; f;uEu;y;ontc; ee;vu wxol ac:vm;y; wwr;m;jzi
 f;uEucun? aoewrm;jzi cæ& , cr;ajcmujci;rm;vn; vyaqmicuon? , i;w;on
 ee;v t m; Emaqi;ao;rm; v;u;vmont x cEmu , Ei rsuEmw; t m;
 aoewrm;jziwe;x;Eypucun? xlaemu ee;vwi u , 0e 7 v &aev;u uyi
 wa , muwvn r'r;hyusicun? ppom; 10 a , mu r'r;hyusici;u cc&p0twi;
 ueppom;rm;u wtjibur &y&i; ee;v . atmorm; tay: avmiajmi& , armcuon?
 pi;u% t m; j;ul;jiwyaEmixm;onopyon wEi t vr;ra0;ojzi wtwi;r ee;v .
 atm [pi , orm;u twi;om;:um;ae&on?

ppom;rm;on ee;v t m; vom;r [wonwpaumiyr m ee;u 8 em&r nae 4 em&t x
 rnmrwm r'r;hyusicun? ee;v owvpom;ontcu t we;rm; rmyi ppom;rm;u
 quvu t "rhyusicun?

, i;w; r'r;hyusi; aomt c; ppom;rm;u pi;u% t m; ay;wm t x r;orm; t jzp
 ac;aqmiom;cuon? x t cerpl pi;u% jyea&murvmawmay? o;la , mu;sm;
 u , veom;ici;jzprn [ee;vu wuqxm;on?

ee;vrm or. wi , wi emusiucra0'emrm; t m; wpa , muwn;cpm;c&on? rwww
 xontc;/ vr;av;muontc;rm;wi r;a0ci;rm;u cpm;c&on? xjiyi aci;uujci;/
 Or;uujci;/ ao;q;ici;rm; jzpay;cojzi oaEom;y;u;srnuyi p;&rc&on? wpu , wn;

4 &uce| aexicy;aemuwi 7 v om &ao;on u ,0eu uav;ar;zm;con? aemuwpae|
 wi ciye;jzpo . aqr\$;rm; ue[e;r a&mu&vmy; xi;Eiibuol| ac:aqmivmcuon?
 ,i;w|u ppom;rm; ui;vnona&mwiaexiaom ee;vw|twu p;&roji a&muvmc
 :ujci;jzpy; a&muonEi ee;v r'r;uic&onowi;Ei pi;u%aoq;onowi; w|u
 :um;cu&jci;jzpon?

ee;v taeji o|a ,mu\$;aoq;&jci;Ei ort m; r'r;uicjci;w|u wi:um;um ppom;rm;
 t m; ta&; ,apvaomvn; wi:um;Eicjci; r&ay? ta:umi;rm ee;von jrermv rajymww
 ouo| t m%omyirm; x rno|om;a&mu&rnuvn; ro&cay? x|yi ort m; r'r;yuic
 or;m;Ei ciye;jzpo t m; owjzwcorm; on rnonppwyr jzponu twt us roay?

ort m; aw|qar;jre;cp0wi or . uav;on 2 vom;t & , om &ao;y; zm;emv:u&on?
 or . Ewuvi uav;Or;uuaomvn; jyiyrE0 ,wu&evn; air&ay? t vyxuvy&e
 t m;en;aeon t jyi aq;ce;om;jy&evr;p&wEi aq;z;vn; r&ay?

(161)	t rn	ee;r(t rn&i; r [w)
	t ou	13 Ep
	t raxmi	r&
	vr\$;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	t vyt ui	v , orm;
	ae&y	ercr; &m/ ue [e;r e , ?
	t ci;jzpc&	2001 cEp:o*ww
	ppwy	ue [e; t ajcpu cr& 246

ue [e; t ajcpu et z ppom;rm;u yw0e;usio| ui;vnxuvmc&m t ou 13 Ept & ,
 ee;ru t ou 14 Ept & , o|oi , ci; ee;uleEi tw ercr; &m t jyi buwi [i;&uc;aep0
 aw|om;on? ppom;rm;u ow| Ep0;x om;on t q ee;Zu xuajy; vwajrmuom;con?
 Av|u;jzpo u ee;ru zr;q;um r'r;yuicy; aemuwpae| eeuaapmawi em;c;&m te;Y
 jyevway;con? ee;ron em;c; &m t jyibuY vc|nji ruEmu ty&i; ia'u;con?

aemuq;wi &mo| jyevmcy; aqr\$;om;ci;rm; t m; jzpyuyt v;pu jyevnajymjycon?
 ,i;w|taeji a'ocwy&i;rl;ol| om;a&muwi:um;v:uaomvn; , i;olwi:um;jci;a:umi
 axmi'%/ ai'%rm;jzi xyrt jypay;c&rnuvn; p;&r:uon? ol twu w&m;r|wru
 t v&aomvn; w&m;oji raqmi&uEicuay? ee;rt z| pwt m;i , jci;/ &ujci;/
 yaq;aomu a&muji;rm; cpm;c&on?

(162)	t rn	ee;cr; (t rn&i; r [w)
	t ou	16 Ep
	t raxmi	r&
	vr\$;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	t vyt ui	v , orm;/ ri;yer wi t ajccynm pwww;e;at mijrico n?
	ae&y	v iE&m/ aemi vau; &m typ/ ri;yer e , ?

v/iE&m on ri;yeo| 1998 cEpwi ajymi;a&c&on?
 t ci;jzpcæ 2001 cEppuwi bmv 11 &u
 ppwy cr& 520/ ppa:umi; 4/ Av}u; au smOr;

Av}u; au smOr;u :uu0, cion [ajymum &mxo| a&mu&vmont cæwi tou 16
 Ep&, ee;cr;on trwi wpa, muwn; &æon? xo| wpa, muwn;&æonu o
 onEi Av}u;au smOr;u ee;cr;. tro|Oia&muum r'r;ÿu sicon? ee;cr;u atm [p
 t ut nawmi;ont c| ee;ciuy;|tucoji '%&mt n|trn;rm;ue&pon? t ci;jzpy;|
 y;æmu t m%myirm;x wi:um;c|ci;r&aom vn; rom;pur jyevnajymijcon? æmuyi;
 wi oron aqr;|rm;Ei twe, pyu jzwaumv;u xi;Eiibuol xucmcon?

(168) trn ee;xe; (trn&i; r [w)
 tou 19 Ep
 traxmi &
 vr;| &r;
 bmom A'bmom
 t vyt ui v, orm;
 æ&y ue;te &m/ æmiaumau; &mtyp/ vcm;|r|e, ?
 ue;te&m on vcm;|r|e, Orvb [o| 1997 cEp
 {ÿv 4 &uæ|wi ajymi;a&c&on?
 t ci;jzpcæ 2001 cEp a t muwbmv 24 &u
 ppwy cr& 515/ ppa:umi; 3/ Av}u; p;pa t mi

2001 cEp a t muwbmv 24 &uæ|wi Av}u; p;pa t mi O;aqmiaom ppom; 4 a, muon
 ue;te&mopo| :uu0, &æ a&muvmuon? &mxo| a&mu&vmaom Av}u;
 p;pa t mion ee;xe; wpa, muwn;&æjci;u owÿrom;on? ou "eia, mum;
 b, om;v" [ar;&m ee;xe;u "r&b;? vytm;ay; om;w, " [jyeajzcon?
 x t c|, i;ppAvu "eiw| trxu Oi&mciw, ? u, ypn;aw t aymu t r&a t mi :unzi
 eiÿvuc" [ajymum trxu ac:vmcon? trxoa&muaom t c| ee;xe;. vu u
 ciÿvuy; we;vvuon? aoewji celvn; "rxel x&i ypowr, " [t
 relay;cr;ajcmucon?
 , i;u r'r;ÿu siaep0 ee;xe;u 2 }ur 3 }ur us, avmipm atm [pcon? "Av}u; æ
 u;ru rvyÿe" [vn; atm [pwm;jrpcon? o|æom ppAvu ortm; y;|uvuy;
 "aociv|vm;" [ypwaowewji æ&, um :cr;ajcmucaon? ee;xe;vn; æ:umuvel
 om;ozi ppAvu ortm; t "ÿu siy; t jcm;ppom;rm;Ei tw pppce;jyeom;ont x
 wpw&m ra t m [p&awmay?

, i;jzpytm; ee;xe;u au; &Ou| v;u%Ei &yr&yz 7 0; 8 0;tm; wi:um;con?
 xow|u ee;xe;. ciye; jyea&muvmcet x apmiqi;&æ ajym:um;con? 2 &u 3 &u
 :umaom t c| ciye;jzpo jyea&muvmcoji ee;xe;u i, wi:um;con? x|æmu ow|on
 au; &mv}u;rm;Ei tw pppce;o| om;a&mucuon? , i;w| ppay; 13 0; on cr& 515
 a'ocwyo|om;a&muum wyr; Av}u;oe;xe;tm; aw|qc&m Av}u;oe;xe;u "Av}u;
 p;pa t mi vnui;xuom;wm 19 &u/ &u 20 avmu&æy? jyera&muaob;" [ajymq

con? ee;xe;u Av}u; p;patmi t m; jriv;irwra;umi; ajymqc&m ,i;u wyxr
 ppom;rm;u we;p &yci;um jyocon? x rwww&yjon ppom; 146 a , muwi Av}u;
 p;patmi ry0iy? rrt m; t "ryusicou rjyEiaom ee;xe;t m; Av}u; oe;xe;u "' æ
 'wyu &abm t m;v;y? ' t xrm ei u r'r;usicwo ry;b;qawm i;v n;bmr rwwEiawm
 b;? 'jayr , eioxm;zlu i;w} ppwyua&m/ &abmawuy 'vr;vmvyv;r&b;" [
 ajymqum ppwytclyo! yaqmicon? , i; ppt clyxwi &mv}u;wp0;u aemuwpac}u
 Av}u;oe;xe;t m; vma&muaw}qont x wpaeEiwpn aexic&on? , i;&mv}u;u
 ee;xe;t m; jyevway;y&e Av}u;oe;xe;t m; awmi;yeaomtc} "ciAm;u u;aemu
 avma;u;ay;&i jyevway;r , ? u;ly oumu&atmi/ t&u&atmi vycwtwu avma;u;
 ai Epaomi; ay;&r," [ajymqcon? &mv}u;u xaiu ay;aqmir ee;xe;t m;
 jyevway;con?

jyevwvmaom ee;xe;on omrevaumi;yuw r[wawmay? oron aci;uujci;/
 r;a0jci; a0'emrm;u cpm;c&y; vcm;r}laq;fio! 5 }urce! om;a&muijoc&on? aemuq;
 rom u , u , u jyevn wnrwEicon? or. rom;pu em;vnrxm;um az;raom
 vn; ee;xe;ur , i;u t "ryusiom;on r'r;aumit m; tjypay;onuomjriaw}vay
 on?

(169)	t rn	ee;vw(t rn&i; r [w)
	t ou	32 Ep
	t raxmi	& uav; 3 a , mu(pi;0r;(9 Ep)/ ee;re;(7 Ep)/ pi;v i; (5 Ep)
	vr;	&r;
	bmom	A'bmom
	t vyt ui	v , orm;
	ae&y	v}lipir&m/ Orvau;s&m typ/ ri;ui;r}e , ? v}lipir&mon ri;ui;r}e , o! 1997 cEp {yv 27 &uaewi ajymi;a&ic&on?
	t ci;jzpcæ	2001 cEp E0ibmv 6 &u
	ppwy	cr&514/ t &m& oe;jriEi Om%vi;

ppom; 60 - 70 cejon ee;vwv. &mtewi ui;vnaecuon? , i;
 ui;vnppa;umi;t m; jriaw}vuonEi , i; . ciye;jzpo pi;xe; u xuaj;caomvn;
 ppa;umi;r jriaw}om;uon? ppom;rm;u ee;vwv. tru 0i;vuy; trtwi; a&m
 tjiuy} twi;0ia&mu &mazcuon? &mazy;onEi ee;vwt m; , i;w}Eitw vu&
 trelay;con? ee;vwu rvucil jii;qeaomtc} t&m& oe;jriu ee;vwt m; y;
 o;av;c}u fuvuy; "ei vurvm;/ rvub;vm;" :cr;ajcmu ar;jre;con?
 ee;vwt aejzi tjcm;a&c; , p&mvrr;ojzi ppwy. twi;tuy ac;aqmi&maemuol
 vuy;c&on?

ppom;rm;on ee;vwt m; awmxo! 2 &u:um ac;aqmiom;y; t&m& oe;jriEi
 Om%vi;w}u ee;vwt m; r'r;iyusicuon? x}aemu ri;ui;r}e , / a [a [au;s&m typxr
 voui;ron ue;biaus;&mo! ac;aqmiom;cuon? xae&mwi 3 &uce! xm;y;aemu
 cr&514 . a'ocwypce;o! ac;aqmiom;um wpn xm;cuon? , i;w} ac;aqmiom;aom 6

&uwmwaw#mu v; ee;vwu aeia&mny r'r;yu:icu on? aemuwpae| ee u 7
em&ce|wi ee;vwjyev n v wajrm u v mcaom v n; jyevw ray;r t&m&oejriu
“ t a:umi;awu wjcm;vawu jyeajmwme| eia&m eiviuy| vmowr,”
+cr;ajcmucon? trojyae&mu ont c| ee;vwu ciye;jzpo t m; t a:umi;p
jyev n ajmijycaom v n; a:umu ve|ozi rno|ur om;a&murwi:um;cuay?

ppwy. tEiusiapmum;ji;a:umiom , cizp&y ay:ayucji;jzpon [ee;vw. ciye;u
ortay:em;vnr&ozi trwi;jy \ emr&b twwu aexic&on? ee;vwon pwnp
t m; i , rrm;jzpay:cy; ort m; apmum;corn; t m; v n; wpw&m t a& , aqmi&uEici
r&ca? t ci;jzpy m; y; aemu zm; emcy; ri; ui r| aq; |wi 7 &uce|wua&mu uoc&on?

(170)	t r n	ee; , i; (t r n&i; r [w)
	t o u	17 Ep
	t r a x m i	r&
	v r ;	&r;
	b m o m	A' b m o m
	t v y t u i	v , o r m;
	ae&y	0rc; / ri; ueau; ± m t y p/ ri; u i i r e , 0rc; o n ri; u i o 11/6/1997 w i a& a j m i ; c& o n
	t c i ; j z p c e	2001 cEp E0 i b m v 6 & u
	e t z w y	wyc 5/ cr& 514/ ri; q w r / A v u ; a u m j r i E i , i ; . t & m & 4 0 ; /

ee; , i; o n ± m t j i b u Y t p m&maep0wi t i t m; 60 - 70 ce| e t z w y z w p z | j z w o e;
om;avon? o t v y v y a e o n u , i; w | r i a w | o m ; u m , i; w | E i t w a c : a q m i o m ; c o n ?
o | t m; a w m w i ; o | E p n / r i ; u i i r | e , a [a [a u ; ± m t y p & v r a e a w m o n u e ; b e |
a u ; ± m o | o ; n E i a e m u q ; w i a ' o c p c e ; w i ; o | w p n a c : a q m i o m ; c o n ? x a j c m u n
t w i ; A v | u ; a u m j r i E i , i ; . t & m & 4 0 ; w | r n w i ; t y p v u r ' r ; u s i c u o n ? x | a e m u 7
& u a j r m u o n a e | r e u 6 e m & w i o | t m ; v w a y ; c o n ?

t r i y e a & m u o n t c w i r b r m ; E i a q r | ; o m ; c i ; r m ; t m ; j z p y u c o n r m ; u j y e a j m i y c o n ?
o | r o m ; p u r i ; u i a q ; ± o | a c o m ; y ; a q ; p p a y ; c u m 0 ; a v ; j z p o a u ; ± m 0 u | v ; e w u
t j z p t y u u r i ; u i i r | 0 u | v ; v a & x o | w i : u m ; c o n ? j z p y u c y u : u m ; o & o n t c w i
v ; v a & o n c r & 515 w y c 3 r & r ; v r | ; j z p o A v | u ; a ± v x o | o m ; l a q ; a E ; w i y i c o n ?
A v | u ; j z p o u “ A r m p p o m ; a w [m v r w w w t u s i & w , ? i j w u t r r m r ; u j r i
o u a o a w r [w a w m t r e w u , ' t r j z p c w , q w m u b , o u t w n i y E i r v v |
o w | a r ; r m y ? w u , v | e e ; , i ; u o | u b , & a b m u r ' r ; u s i c w , q w m t w t u s
o & i a w m i r o w | u e e ; , i ; v r a j m w , v i p y p r m y ? i | ' v a j m w m & a b m a w u t a & , r c &
a t m i v | a j m w m r [w b ; ? i j u , w i u p p t p & & p p o m ; w p a , m u j z p a y r , i | a q r | ; o m ; c i ;
t m ; v ; u & r ; a w y / y ; a w m t c j z p w m e y w o u v | i i v n ; w u , u p w r a u m i ; b ; ? ' j a y r ,
' t r r m t E i & z | r j z p E i b ; q w m i | o a e w , ” [a j m : u m ; c o n ?

ee; , i; . r o m ; p u o r t a y : p m e m ; v n y ; 0 i ; 0 e ; t m ; a y ; u o n ? o r t a e z i r ' r ; a u m i
r m ; t m ; t a & , t j y p a y ; c i o j z i r c i r & j z p & a o m v n ; r n o | r r w w E i a c ?

(171)	t r n	ee;qi(t r n&i; r [w)
	t o u	14 Ep
	t r a x m i	r&
	v r ;	&r;
	b m o m	A' b m o m
	t v y t u i	v , o r m;
	a e & y	em;veau;±m/ Oraz;au;±m typ/ ri;u iir/ e , /
		em;veon 13- 9- 1997 u ri;u iir/ e , o! a±ajymi;cc&on?
	t c i;jzpc e	2001 cEp/ E0i b m v/ 6 & u
	e t z w y	wyc 5/ cr& 514/ Av}u;au smjri?

em;veau;±mwi;o! tit m; 60 -70 ce&on etz w yz0ia&m u v m c e w i etz
 wyt w u t w i;t:u y a y w m q c&r n u p;&ro j z i ±m&a, m u s m; r s m; o n x u a j y; a& m i w r;
 a e: u y; ±m x w i t r ; o r; r s m; o m u e a e c o n? A v}u; a u s m j r i o n e e; q i. t r t e; o!
 a& m u& v m u m t o u 14 e p t ±, r e; u a v; w p 0; w n; t r w i& a e o n u a w i o m; c o n?
 , i; . w y o m; r s m; u t r t j y i b u w i u i; a p m i a e: u& e t r e a y; v u y; a e m u A v}u; a u s m j r i
 o n e e; q i t m; t y c e; x o! ' ± w w u q a c: o m; y; a e m u r' r; u s i c o n? o r u u s , a v m i p m
 a t m [p a o m t c w i , i; u ± u y w c o n?

p p o m; r s m; ± m r x u c m o m; o n t c e w i o r . r o m; p r s m; j y e a& m u& v m: u o n? e e; q i u
 j z p y: u c y u j y e v n a j m j y c a o m v n; , i; w i t m; v; o n t m% m y i r s m; x w i w e; & e t w u
 t v e a: u m u ± c u a v o n? x o! j z p y: u y; E p& u t: u m w i t p r} u; j z p o e e; a& u e e; q i
 t m; r i; u i a q; ± o! a q; p p& e a c: o m; c o n? e e; q i o n t v e a: u m u ± p w t m; i, a e y;
 i; n a j c m u n c e! t y r a y m E i b& c o n? , i; p w x w i A v}u; j z p o u t a& ,
 t j y p a y; c i a o m v n; r n o! r r w w E i y?

(172)	t r n	ee;ac;(t r n&i; r [w)
	t o u	24 Ep
	t r a x m i	&/ (v e c o n 8 E p u t r a x m i u/ 6 E p t ± , o r; w p a , m u E i 3 E p t ± , o m; w p a , m u &)
	v r ;	&r;
	b m o m	A' b m o m
	t v y t u i	v , o r m;
	a e & y	em; v , a u; ± m/ r i; y; v a u; ± m t y p/ r i; y e
	t c i;jzpc e	2001 cEp/ E0i b m v/ 28 & u
	e t z w y	wyc 3/ c v& 248/ Av}u; x e; & i E i A v o e; a r m i?

2001 cEp E0i b m v 28 & u a e i w i e e; a c; o n ± m r w p r i c e i a 0; o n o . a w m i , m Y
 t a v u s [i; o; [i; ± u r s m; c; a e o n? A v}u; x e; & i E i A v o e; a r m i w i o n
 e e; a c; w p a , m u w n; & a e o n u a w i o m; u . ? , i; w i u a o e w w p v u j z i c e u m
 o! t e m; o! a v m u v m: u o n? T A v E p a , m u o n , m c i; x r v , o r m; r s m; .
 [i; o; [i; ± u r s m; u c; , v j c i; j z p v r r n [o u x i v u o n? o! & m w i

o|te;o|a&muon tceY ,i;w|u o|t m; v uEp bu v;ajrmuci;y; wpu , v;u
 &maza&;v;u .? bmr&mraw|on t cwi o|t m; , mx& aumu±;wpyqo|
 om;&et relay;on? yxrw| ee;ac;urom;baeaomvn; ,i;w|
 o|aumue;uaoewjzixm;u;y; twi;t:uyom;ci;con? aumu±;yo|a&muon t cwi
 wpa , muu o|u aoewjzicexm;y; aemuwpa , muu rw&;u;|ucon? x|aemu
 vci;v:uon? ppayi; epem&cr±um;y;aemur o|t m; triyecia;y;vuon? tr a&muon
 t cY o|ciye;Eirbrm;u t jzpty;uEiywoul jyeajymjycon? ,i;.rbrm;/ ciye;on
 tou 33 Ep& pi;aum wEitw ee;ac;on au;±mOu| v;apmx o|om;a&mu:uum
 t jzpty;uu wiwe;uon? au;±m Ou|vn; ,i;w|av;a , muEi twvuyv|u ri;y;v
 au;±m typtajcpupce;& wyc 3 wyr; Av}u;aumcix o|om;a&muwiwe;uon?
 ee;ac;u jzpy;ucor t m;v;u ajymjyv uon? wyr;jzp ou , cuo|o&onrm
 o|twuam;i;aumi;ajym.? ,i;w|i;a , muv;u aemuwp&u eeu 8- 30
 wiaemuwpac;uvm&eajymon? 2001 cEp/ E0ibmv 29 &uae| eeu 8- 30 wi
 ,i;w|i;a , mu ppwypce;o|a&mu&vm:uon? wyr;jzpou r'r;usico u a±;xw|y&e
 ee;ac;uajymon? “ow|r;uEmawu aoaocmcm;uny; ri;ur'r;usiwo u jyr;” [
 ci;on? wyom;r;m;we;pumjyoxm;onuaw|&aomvn; Av}u;xe;&iEi Avoe;armi
 w|Epa , muu raw|&y? ee;ac;u we;pxm;on 48 a , muxwi Av}u;xe;&iEi
 Avoe;armi w|uraw|a:umi;jzi wyr;jzpouajymon? “ur ow|Epa , muu rwrw , ”
 [ouajymvuon?

wyr;jzpou “'j wyc 3 rm&w &abmtuey? 'rm i|ty|tOit m;v;ppay; 49 a , muy&
 w ,? 'awm ri;w|u i|w|wyuemrnzuciwoabmyjzp&r ,” [ajym.? x|aemu ,i;w|
 i;O;v;u t c|yaxmixy&e vyawmon? xtc| au;±mOu|jzpou :um;Oiumci v w&e
 awmi;yecon? wyr;u axmircawmb i;a , muv;u '%ait o;o;wyvuon? i;|&u
 twi; ee;ac;Ei au;±mOu|w|on uy 10000 pay;&el or. ciye;u uy 5000 ay;&eEi
 rbrm; onvn; uy 7000 pto;o;ay;&e '%aic:rwcon? ppay; 39000
 uyay;acc&ayon?

(173) t rn ee;u (t rn&i; r [w)
 t ou 18 Ep
 t raxmi r&
 vr; &r;
 bmom A'bmom
 t vyt ui v , orm;
 ae&y OravmOau;±m/ OravmOau;±m typ/ ri;ye
 t ci;jzpc e 2001 cEp/ 'Zibmv/ 4 &u
 ppwy wyc 4/ cr& 524/ Av}u;jriarmiax;?

2001 cEp/ 'Zibmv/ 4 &uae|wi wyc 4/ cr& 524 r Av}u;jriarmiax;on 2001 cEp Epp
 yi;u ±m om;r;m; t m; ajymi;a±xm;on jye v nae&mcsxm;a&a' o twi; yrevnu i;xu
 vm on? t qyae&m t a&muwi ee;u wpa , muwn;&aeonu Av}u;jzp o aw|
 om;y;aemu o&&m t ro|om;y; “ t rrmri;wpa , muwn;aw|yvm;/ ri;r bawb , rmv”
 [ar;avon?

“ur taz u [; ta0; } u; rm vyt m; ay; vyaew, ? tare| tr} u; u awmi, mom; vy: u w, ” [ee; u u ajzon?

“nu ri; w| tr ub, ov mov? trrm{non&ovm;”

“b, orrvmyb;” [oruajzvuon? Av} u; jzpou x trwi {non&r&maz&rn [ajymum trEi tyce; rm; u: unrn [ee; u t m; ajymon? , i; Ei tw trwi; o| vuc &eci; y; aemu o| t m; vr; qvu y; aewjziceum v ty&et ray; .? ee; u ujii; qe ont c| wi vuut wi; qum v ty&e twi; t: uy| vyon? ee; u vn; Ep| ur wiat mi “a [m' rm Av} u; urur' r; uiaeyw, ” [at m [pcon? Av} u; jzpou or. y; Ei y; pyu±uvu y; quvul r' r; usicon?

“ri; at mr, 'rr [w ri; rbawaqr; awu jyeajmr, q&i ri; w| t m; v; u i| vmowr, ” [l x trrjyec; wi, i; u: cr; ajcmuajmqom; con? naebua&m ul rbrm; Ei aqr; om; ci; rm; t vyrjyea&m u v m: u ont c| Y ee; u u jzpy: ucyuiyeajmijcon? x t jzptyuu rno| xr, i; w| rwi: um; cuay? aemuw&ueeuwi ee; u. rci u ue [e; aq; ± o| aq; pp&eac: aqmiom; .? x o| jzpy: uc& y; aemuwi o. rbrm; onvn; x jye v nae&mc: xm; o nae&m Y aemu x yaexivpwr&uawmay? yxr ri; wo| ajmi; a&um x| aemuwi xi; Eiio| om; a&muc uon? , i; w| on xi; Eiio| 2001 cEp 'Zibmv 26 &uae; wia&mu&cuon?

aenu qu w 2 - vi t: ur; zurm; u; vecon et z wyon; rm; . wy&i; rm;

p0	wy&i; eyw	pce; wnae&m Sui; (&oa±)	jzpy ayi;	vi t: ur; zurjzpy; c ona' o/ irle, Ei jzpyeyw ue [e; 14 r; e 3 erpe 3 vc m; 11 vli vi 1 2 erpe 10 r; e 2 ri; ye 1 ue [e; 8 ri; aemi 1 r; e 2 ri; ui 6 vli vi 1 au; o; 1 vi; ac; 2 r; e 3
1	cv& 246	ue [e; t ajcpu	19	
2	cr& 515	vc m; t ajcpu	14	
3	cv& 66	erpe t ajcpuEi u i; vn	13	
4	cr& 524	ue [e; t ajcpu	11	
5	cr& 514		8	
6	cv& 99	rwvmEi jri; c(t v , yi;) t ajcpu 2 vi; ac; 1	7	

		erpe 1		erpe 2
7	cv& 225	ri;w t ajcpu	6	ri;w 6
8	cr& 333	ri;qw t ajcpu	6	ri;qw 5
				ri;w 1
9	cr& 334	ri;a , mi; t ajcpu	6	ri;a , mi; 6
10	cv& 64	r;e t ajcpu 2	5	r;e 3
		vcm; t ajcpu 1		vli v i 1
11	cr& 520	ri;ye t ajcpu	4	ri;ye 3
				r;e 1
12	cr& 513	u i;v n	4	vli v i 3
				ri;ui 1
13	cr& 332		4	ri;ye 4
14	cv& 49	ri;qw t ajcpu	3	ri;qw 3
15	cv& 227	ri;a , mi; t ajcpu 1	3	ri;a , mi; 1
		ri;zw t ajcpu 1		ri;cw 2
16	cr& 314	u i;v n	3	u i;w 3
17	cr& 316	wmc;vw t ajcpu	3	wmc;vw 3
18	cr& 424	au; o; t ajcpu 2	3	au; o; 2
		ue [e; t ajcpu 1		ue [e; 1
19	cr& 359	wmc;vw t ajcpu	2	wmc;vw 1
				ri;qw 1
20	cr& 519	ri;w t ajcpu 1	2	ue [e; 1
		ue [e; t ajcpu 1		ri;w 1
21	cv& 247	u i;v n	2	erpe 2
22	cv& 226	u i;w t ajcpu	2	u i;w 2
23	cv& 55	u i;v n	2	vcm; 2
24	cv& 248		2	r;e 1
				ri;ye 1
25	cr& 227	ri;w t ajcpu 1	2	ri;w 1
		u i;v n 1		ri;ye 1
26	cr& 525	u i;v n	1	vcm; 1
27	cv& 45	u i;v n	1	ri;qw 1
28	cr& 378	&ciyne , r	1	ue [e; 1
29	cr& 44	u i;v n	1	ue [e; 1
30	cv& 43	u i;v n	1	ri;ye 1
31	cr& 242	u i;v n	1	au; o; 1
32	cr& 442	u i;v n	1	vcm; 1
33	cr& 517	u i;v n	1	vcm; 1
34	cr& 502	u i;v n	1	ri;ye 1
35	cv& 65	ri;w t ajcpu	1	ri;w 1
36	cr& 324	erw t ajcpu	1	erw 1
37	cv& 22	u i;v n	1	erpe 1
38	cr& 422	r;e t ajcpu	1	r;e 1
39	cr& 527	ri;qw t ajcpu	1	ri;qw 1

40	cv& 102	u i;v n	1	ue [e; 1
41	cv& 279		1	ri; , e; 1
42	cr& 514	u i;v n	1	au; o; 1
43	cr& 529	u i;w t ajcpu	1	ri;w 1
44	cv& 245		1	u i;w 1
45	cv& 226	u i;v n	1	u i;w 1
46	cr& 503	ri;jzw t ajcpu	1	ri;w 1
47	cr& 383	ri;ui t ajcpu	1	ri;ui 1
48	cr& 516	u i;v n	1	au; o; 1
49	cv& 64		1	vcm; 1
50	cv& 221	ri;jzw t ajcpu	1	wmc;vw 1
51	cv& 9		1	ri;ui 1
52	cv& 244		1	u i;w 1

aenu qu w 3 - v i t:ur;zu ru;l;vec o r;m; t r n p m&i;

1? cv& 246

Avr;apm0i;

Avr;x;ir;

Avr;w;ir;

wyr;jri0;

Av}u;p;Ei0;

Av}u;wiarmi0i;

Av}u;oe;Ei0;

Av}u;au;ma t ;

Av}u;oe;armi

Av}u;a t mir;

Av}u;xe;jri

Av}u;a t miai;

Av}u;au;mjri

Av}u;aZmoe;

t &m&apm0i;y

3? cv& 66

wyr;xe;jri

wyr;wijri

wyr;jripe

Av}u;oe;au;m

Av}u;xe;a t mi

Av}u;a i;a t mi

Av}u;a t miau;m

Av}u;p;0i;

Av}u;ne;armi

Av}u;oe;armi xe;

Av}u;aZmvi

wy;uy}u;ciarmi

wy;uy}u;pe0i;

4? cr& 524

Avr;xe;jr

wyr;xe;jr

wyr;ci v0i;

wyr;ciarmi

wyr;va t mi

Av}u;xe;jr

Av}u;0i;Ei

Av}u;xe;0;

Av}u;p;0i;jzl

2? cr& 515

Avr;p;jzl

wyr;armiarmi

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Av}u;a t mijzl

Av}u;p;p;a t mi

'-Avr;}u;xe;pe

Av}u;jriarmiax;

5? cr& 514

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Ava t mi v

wy:uy}u;b oe;

6? cv& 99

Av}u;a t miaZm

Av}u;oe;oe;

Av}u;a t mi xe;

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Av}u;armip;

7? cv& 225

Av}u;a t miaZm

Av}u;au sma t ;

Av}u;xe;jri

Av}u;jri vi

8? cr& 333

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Av}u;armiarmi

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9? cr& 334

wy:uy:um}u;

wyom;au smqe;

10? cr& 64

wyr;ci oe;a t ;

wyr;cpax;

Avr;au smce;

t &m&p;armi ni

11? cr& 520

Avr;oe;armi

Avr;armi t e;

Av}u;oe;armi

Av}u;au sm0r;

12? cr& 513

Avr;u;rm;

wyr;vaomi;

13? cr& 332

Av}u;armiarmip;

Av}u;vaz

Av}u;au sm0i;

14? cv& 49

Av}u; [epe

15? cv& 227

Av}u;pe0i;

wyom;vwi

16? cr& 314

Ava u sm p;

Av vax;

17? cr& 316

wyr;Ei vi;

wyom;armi b

18? cr& 424

Avr;armia u sm xe;

Av}u;p;v i

Av}u;p;jzl

19? cr& 359

Av}u;xe;au sm

20? cr& 519

Avr;ri;pe

wy:uy}u;vjzl

21? cv& 247

wyr;oma t ;

Av}u;jr x;

22? cv& 226
 wyom;au sm vi
 Av:un xe;

23? cv& 55
 Av)u;cip;
 Av)u;oe;0i;

24? cv& 248
 Av)u;vaz
 Av)u;xe;&i
 Av oe;armi

25? cr& 277
 Avr;a t ;oe
 Av)u;ciarmi ne

26? cr& 525
 Av)u;p;ne

rwci u ?

u:e&aom t cyyEi ajryrm;u yEy
 xwa0aom pm t ywi zw&Eiyon?



ရှမ်းလူ့အခွင့်အရေးမဏ္ဍိုင်

(The Shan Human Rights Foundation – SHRF)

P.O. Box 201, Phrasing Post Office, Chiang Mai 50200, Thailand

e-mail: shrf@cm.ks.co.th

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e-mail; <kenneri@loxinfo.co.th>

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